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THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS.

WITH CRITICAL NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS.

VOL. I.

Preparing for publication.

THE REPUBLIC of PLATO. With a revised Text and English Notes. By the Rev. B. JOWETT.

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS.

WITH CRITICAL NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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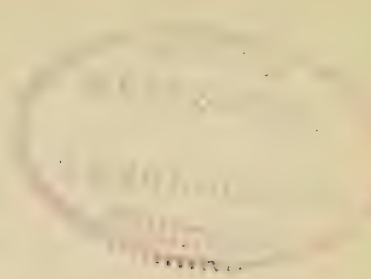
TO

THE REV. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D.

CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN AND HEAD MASTER OF RUGBY SCHOOL

This Work is affectionately Inscribed.

January 1859.



INTRODUCTION.

No one who is acquainted with Sophocles or Thucydides in the volumes of Dindorf or Bekker, would be willing to reprint the text of those authors as it is to be found in editions of two centuries ago. No apology is therefore needed for laying aside the “Textus Receptus” of the New Testament.

The text of Lachmann, which has been adopted instead, has many claims to be considered as the most perfect that has hitherto appeared. It is the first, most consistent, and, with one exception, the only recension of the New Testament, drawn entirely from the earliest manuscripts and authorities. It is the work of a scholar of the highest genius, and of the greatest knowledge and experience as an editor. Any advance which can hereafter be made in the text of the New Testament is

not likely to be as great as that by which Lachmann is separated from previous editors.

The merits of Lachmann's text would have been more generally acknowledged, had he distinctly stated the principles on which it was based. Like other great editors, he either could not, or would not, fully explain his method of procedure. The peculiarities of his edition, so far as they can be gathered from his preface, are as follows:—

I. He aims at reproducing the text, not as it ought to be, but as it was: that is, not as it may be supposed to have come from the autograph of the writers themselves, but as it actually existed in copies of the fourth century.

II. The text which he seeks to restore is based (*a*) on the most ancient Greek manuscripts.

(*β.*) On citations of Origen.

(*γ.*) On the most ancient Latin manuscripts, both of the Vulgate and of earlier versions. These, especially the versions older than the Vulgate, are considered as the representatives of an original Latin text, agreeing with that known to the translator of Irenæus and to

Tertullian; and which before the time of Jerome had passed from Africa into Gaul and Italy; the stream of testimony thus parting into two heads — “*Vetus Afra*, and *Vetus Itala*.”

(δ.) On citations of the most ancient Latin Fathers; that is, the translator of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer and Hilary.

Widely separated as these Fathers are by country, the latest of them is not divided from the earliest by a greater interval of time than two centuries. The same remark applies to the manuscript authorities also; within a short time they are spread over a wide space. The one class of testimonies falls between the second and the fourth century; the other (with scarcely an exception) between the fourth and the sixth; and the value of both is greatly increased by distance, that is, by their combining the testimonies of different churches and countries.

Lachmann's text might be briefly described as the text of the most ancient and most independent authorities; the proof of independence being remoteness of origin, or in other words, agreement or disagreement, of Eastern (that is, Alexandrian) and Western (that is,

Italian or African) manuscripts. With the exception of a single manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul, his Western authorities are exclusively Latin.

The principles which Lachmann applied to the selection of readings cannot be more briefly stated than in his own words. His summary of degrees of certainty is as follows: (1.) Nothing is better attested than that in which all authorities agree. (2.) The agreement is of less weight if part of the authorities are silent or defective. (3.) The combined evidence of witnesses brought together from different countries in favour of a reading is a stronger testimony than that of witnesses from some particular locality, either carelessly or designedly differing from one another. (4.) But the testimonies must be considered to be doubtfully balanced when witnesses from countries wide apart stand opposed to others equally distant in locality. (5.) Readings are uncertain which are uniformly the same in one country, and uniformly different in another. (6.) Readings are of slender authority as to which not even the same country presents a uniform testimony.

These rules are not equally observed by Lachmann in both editions. In the smaller one he professed to

follow the Eastern, that is, the Alexandrian authorities, wherever they agreed; and only where they disagreed to balance them by the consent of the West. Somewhat more weight is given to the latter element in the larger edition, which contains his more matured judgment; but the increased value is not such as to make any considerable difference in the selection of readings.

Lachmann, as has been already remarked, was the first who based the text on the most ancient authorities, solely on grounds of evidence, without regard to doctrinal considerations, or claims of authority, and irrespective even of the meaning of the words. The result has shown that the most ancient text is also in every other sense by far the best.

It is obvious that the principle of "the most ancient and widely diffused text" might be carried yet further by a comparison of the Oriental versions, which are either prior or represent a text which is prior to the fourth century. It would seem as if both they and the Latin versions, so far as they are regarded as containing the evidences of a more ancient text, must also be maintained as superior in authority to the Greek manuscripts themselves. Lachmann has not carried out his prin-

ciple to this extent ; probably because the materials are too slender, and the manner of using them too uncertain and difficult, to justify him in doing so.

The various readings of the third edition of Robert Stephens, 1550, are placed under the text ; they will be found to agree very nearly with the *Textus Receptus* and the authorised English translation. The latter is added on the opposite page with slight corrections ; which, where they are occasioned by variation of reading, are marked by numbers referring to the authorised text, which is retained underneath ; and by asterisks where they are the corrections of supposed mistranslations.

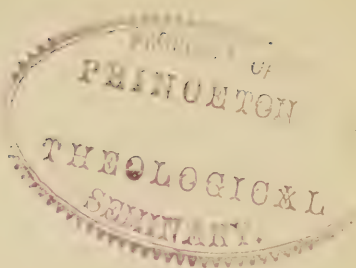
The author of this book is under great obligations to several German theologians, especially Usteri, F. Baur, Ewald, Neander, Winer, Tholuck, Olshausen, Fritsche, Meyer, and in the essay on Philo, to Gfrörer. The plan of the work, which excludes the mention of former commentators, renders it necessary that he should state explicitly the nature of these obligations. He is indebted to the writers named above for numberless references, for a great portion of his materials, and for several thoughts and observations ; which latter, not having

been taken directly from their works, he would find it impossible to separate from his own remarks, or to assign to their original owners.

He need hardly say that he is far from always agreeing with writers who differ so widely from one another as the distinguished persons whose names have been mentioned: he is not the less sensible of the debt which he owes them.

The author has to thank many critics, unfavourable as well as favourable, for the attention which they have bestowed on his work. He regrets that the publication of the new edition has been delayed by other occupations.

January, 1859



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THE EPISTLES
TO
THE THESSALONIANS.

THE

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE greater number of the Epistles of St. Paul may be arranged conveniently in two groups: the first comprehending the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans; the second, the Epistles of the Imprisonment, including under this term the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. At either end of the series, and at a distance from the rest, may be placed the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and the Pastorals, the first of which is shown by internal evidence to bear the earliest, while tradition and internal evidence alike assign to the latter the latest date in the list of St. Paul's writings.

Reading the Epistles in chronological order, many will be tempted to trace in them a gradual development of idea and doctrine. Others, again, will seek to impress upon them the same fixed type of truth held from the beginning, "the faith once delivered to the saints." Could a person lay aside previous conceptions, and resign himself to the letter of the text, he would not find either of these views supported by an examination of the Epistles themselves. There is no system which is presupposed in them; nor can any be constructed out of them without marring their simplicity. They have almost wholly a practical aim, and are fragmentary and occasional. Ordinary letters arise out of the incidents of the day; so these have to do with real events and feelings passing between the Apostle and the churches. There is a growth in the Epistles of St. Paul, it is true; but it is the growth of Christian life, not of intellectual progress,—the growth not of reflection, but of spiritual experience,

enlarging as the world widens before the Apostle's eyes, passing from life to death, or from strife to peace, with the changes in the Apostle's own life, or the circumstances of his converts. There is a rest also in the Epistles of St. Paul, discernible not in forms of thought or types of doctrine, but in the person of Christ himself, who is his centre in every Epistle, however various may be his modes of expression, or his treatment of controversial questions.

A general comparison of the first with the second of the two groups of the Epistles which have been mentioned above, will show the nature of this rest and of this progress in the teaching of the Apostle. The course of events wrought on his life, which in turn passed into his writings. Such an one as Paul the aged, the prisoner of the Lord, regarding the strife of the world and of the Church from his cell at Cæsarea or Rome, is another man from the same Paul, when immersed in the strife itself, bearing the cross of Christ from place to place—in contests and trials everywhere, from the Jews,—from false brethren let in unawares,—from the fickleness of his own converts, ever “ready to affect others rather than himself,”—yea, and from those that “seemed to be pillars,” the Apostles at Jerusalem. No person under such different circumstances would write and express himself in exactly the same way. There is one mode of expression we naturally adopt when near, another at a distance—one in the fulness and vigour of life, another in the near approach of death—one in joy, another in sorrow—one in sympathy with others, another when at variance with them. Change of sphere will often produce a corresponding change in the style and cast of our thoughts. What we have long or often meditated upon, we express differently from what flashes upon us for the first time; what comes to us sealed by the experience of many years, assumes a different character in our minds from what with equal confidence we believed and acted upon in the fervour of first conviction.

These are the kind of differences which separate the first from the second of the two main divisions of the writings of St. Paul. In the Epistles of the Imprisonment we have shifted the scene, and are arrived at a new stage in the Apostle's life, a stage in which he has entered into rest, and can no more be ruffled by the current of

human affairs. He seems to be no more striving for a principle, but to have established it, and to look back upon it ; — the new relations of things, which are at first struggling into being, at length adjust themselves in a divine order, no longer as the elements of controversy, but as parts of the whole counsel of God. His mind is filled with the image of the Church, as of a temple having many parts, “an habitation of God through the Spirit,” Eph. ii. 22. He is already “sitting in heavenly places,” with his converts, Eph. i. 3. Now that the Apostle is withdrawn from the field of his labours, the powers of good and evil seem idealised to him ; he sees the communities among which his life had been spent, at a distance, more as they ought to have been, less as they actually were ; he wrestles not “against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in the heavenly places,” Eph. vi. 12. He enters more and more into communion with Christ, “in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,” Col. ii. 9. ; “he fills up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for his body’s sake, which is the Church,” Col. i. 24. The conflict of the law no more stirs in him ; the cloud of evil overshadows him no more : he is dead and risen with Christ, and translated into his kingdom, Col. i. 13., iii. 1. Not only circumcision, but all other ordinances are ready to vanish away, Col. ii. 20. 23. Earthly ties are transfigured before him into the likeness of Christ and his Church, Eph. v. 32. And the person of Christ himself seems to assume, not a more intimate relation to the individual soul, but a more universal relation to mankind and to the world.

So we trace the workings of the Apostle’s mind in the later years of his life, as his ministry is drawing to a close, and he wearing out in his Master’s service. A different image is presented to us by the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans—an image (in the two first especially) of much greater trial, and sorrow, and perplexity — “without are fightings, within are fears” lest he himself “should run in vain,” lest other men “should build up the things that they had pulled down.” And before this there is a prior stage, in which he is on the threshold of the conflict, and not wholly (shall

we say ?) aware of the great thoughts which were hereafter, by the will of God, to spring up within him. Such is the inference which we are led to draw when, from the perusal of the later Epistles, we turn to those which are universally agreed to be first in date,—the Epistles to the Thessalonians,—and read them not as “dead words,” but as witnesses of the Apostle’s mind and life.

It is a comparatively short period of time which can be allowed—not more than four or five years at the utmost—between the date of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, written from Athens or Corinth, and the Epistle to the Galatians, written probably during the Apostle’s stay at Ephesus or in its neighbourhood. More than half the Apostle’s ministry had already elapsed ere he set his hand to this the first of his extant writings,—one among many, as he implies in a passage in the Second Epistle, iii. 17., and therefore not to be looked upon too curiously, as part of a scheme which was to be completed in the series of Epistles. It is a fragment, the earliest we possess, of the Apostle’s life and the History of the Church. Nothing is gained for the interpretation of the Epistle, by attempting to combine it artificially with his later writings. No such connexion could have been present to the mind of the Apostle. The real light which they receive from one another is that of contrast. Two writings of the same author could not be more different than the Epistles to the Thessalonians and that which follows next in order, the Epistle to the Galatians. The latter is fervid and abrupt, full of interrogation and argument, and abounding in allusions to the Old Testament ; it has the tone of one speaking with authority ; parts of it are written under what may be termed the feeling of persecution (vi. 14—18.), the subdued, painful sense that “he bore in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus.” The Epistles to the Thessalonians are perhaps the least impassioned, and most regular in style, of any of St. Paul’s Epistles : they contain no single quotation from the Old Testament, and very few questions ; they are not argumentative at all ; they advise rather than command ; nor are they marked by any of the Apostle’s deepest and most inward feelings.

The difference of subject is quite as marked as the difference of style. There is no mention in the Thessalonians of the great

question of circumcision and uncircumcision—of faith and works—of the relation of Jew and Gentile—of union with the mystical body of Christ—of death unto life—of the mystery of past ages, that had been now revealed. All that we are accustomed to regard as peculiarly characteristic of the Apostle, the great themes of his other Epistles, are wanting here. Instead of them, we find him dwelling on the immediate coming of Christ, with whom “we that are alive” are to meet in the air, in a manner unlike his allusions in other places, either to a future life, or to the union of the believer with Christ. Many times he returns to the same subject, of which he had spoken to them “while he was yet with them,” 2 Thess. ii. 5.; and this not merely in general outline, but in detail, for he had told them of the coming of Antichrist, and of “that which let.” It was the leading thought of his mind at that time. The gospel which he preached in both Epistles might be described, not as the Gospel of the Cross of Christ, but of the Coming of Christ.

It would be hard indeed to suppose that St. Paul, when he wrote the Epistles to the Thessalonians, could have felt and thought exactly as the same St. Paul in writing the Epistle to the Romans or the Galatians, or to maintain that in the former case he purposely reserved and kept back what in the latter he was commissioned to reveal. Such a supposition would involve the further difficulty that in the later Epistles he also withheld what in the earlier formed the substance of his teaching. Are we to conceive that “the man of sin,” and “that which let,” which he had preached to the Thessalonians, even before he wrote to them, was still latent in his mind throughout his subsequent ministry? that he was daily living in expectation of them, but that no occasion arose in his later writings for him to speak of them to his converts? More naturally we should imagine that the Epistle to the Thessalonians was separated from the Epistles which immediately followed it by a difference greater in degree, but the same in kind with that which separated the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians from the Epistles of the Imprisonment. We should argue that the same Apostle, in the style of whose letters we see a remarkable correspondence to the circumstances of his life, may have yet gone through

further changes which may account for the greater difference; that he who constantly received visions and revelations of the Lord, who spake with tongues more than they all, could hardly have remained stationary in his view of Christian truth; that one whose life was spent in conflict with his own nation, must in the course of that conflict more and more have laid aside the garb of Judaism, "the weak and beggarly elements" of the law. We should observe, as worthy of note, that the greater part of the interval between the composition of the Galatians and the Thessalonians was spent by the Apostle in three of the most cultivated cities of the world, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus. And we should infer that in the short period of three or four years, surrounded as the Apostle was by so many influences, pouring himself out daily in prayer and exhortation to all the Churches, perhaps coming in contact more nearly than before with the Alexandrian learning, such a change might very well have taken place as divides the Thessalonians from the later Epistles.

That some change did take place in the Apostle himself, is not a mere *à priori* theory based upon the common nature of the human mind; nor is it merely an *à posteriori* result derived from the examination of the Epistles when arranged in chronological order; it is implied further in a passage of the Apostle's own writings: "Yea, though we have known Christ according to the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," 2 Cor. v. 16. It is hard to conceive that in this passage the Apostle is speaking of the time before his conversion. His state then could not have been described in so gentle a manner; nor could the term, "knowing Christ according to the flesh," have been applied with any propriety to Paul the persecutor of the Church; nor would such an allusion have had any meaning to the disciples of Corinth, nor will the connexion allow us to suppose that he is speaking, in his own person, of Christians generally. The context shows that he is speaking of himself, not of his converts, and not of what happened in those days when "he persecuted the Church ignorantly through unbelief," but of his manner of preaching either among the Corinthians themselves or among others, from whom report was brought to them. There was a

Judaising party at Corinth, who maintained that in a special sense they were the disciples of Christ, and of whom elsewhere the Apostle says that he is as much Christ's as they are, 2 Cor. x. 7. He had been led beyond them, or they had gone back from him; and he was conscious of the chasm which separated him from them. It seemed to him an increasing chasm; he acknowledged a time when he had more nearly approximated to their Judaising tenets, or, in other words, had known Christ according to the flesh. Whatever softening the skill of interpreters may introduce into these latter words, even though compared with 1 Cor. ii. 2. ("I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified"), they must still have a meaning; that meaning is that there was something which the Apostle had left behind him, which he had once thought, and no longer thought, to be a part of the faith of Christ.

But what was the nature of this change in the Apostle's preaching? How did "Christ according to the flesh" differ from that Christ which the Apostle, when writing the second Epistle to the Corinthians, was seeking to infuse into the hearts of his converts? Could there have been a time when he preached a Christ of the Jews only, and not also of the Gentiles? Such a supposition is contradictory to all that is told us of the Apostle in the Acts, and to all that he tells us of himself in the Epistles. From the first moment of his conversion he was the Apostle of the Gentiles. He could never have taught that Christ was the Christ of the Jews only, or that without circumcision there was no entering into covenant with God. However naturally such a meaning may be assigned to the words "Christ according to the flesh," it is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Apostle's life, as to compel us to adopt a different interpretation.

The remarkable expression in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is not absolutely isolated, but derives confirmation from other places in the writings of the Apostle. Some time before, in writing to the Galatians he says (v. 2.), "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the Cross ceased." These words certainly imply that St. Paul had once preached what his opponents declared to be the doctrine of the

circumcision. That he was conscious also of a certain progress in his life, "forgetting those things that are behind, and reaching forth to those things that are before," is manifest from such passages as Phil. iii. 13., Eph. iv. 13, 14. That there was a difference in his mode of preaching to the Jew and to the Gentile—to the weak and to the strong—he himself asserts, where he says, "To the Jews became I as a Jew;" and, "I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ." Compare 1 Cor. ii., Heb. vi. 1—3. It may be remarked also, that long afterwards, in writing to the Philippians, he has described that period of his life in which he first preached in European cities (though more than fourteen years after his conversion) as "the beginning of the Gospel," iv. 15.

All these passages have some bearing, more or less near, on the expression which we are considering, "If we have known Christ according to the flesh;" they do not, however, enable us distinctly to determine its meaning. We could not, indeed, expect that the Apostle should allude more clearly to a change which was half concealed from himself, and which it was needless for him to detail to his converts. The allusions, though obscure, are real; but they throw us back again on the connexion of the words in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians itself, for their interpretation. Now it is observable that, in the original passage, the Apostle is not speaking of the admission of the Gentiles, or of the universality of the Gospel, but of "death with Christ." "We thus judge, that if one died for all, then all died; and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again. Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, henceforth we know him no more." And the rest of the chapter speaks of "the absence from the body which is presence with the Lord," of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (v. 1—8.), "of Christ becoming sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," v. 21.

To this is opposed the knowledge of Christ according to the flesh, which cannot consist with the inward witness of such things, which

in modern language might be described as unmystical, unspiritual, different from that communion of his life and death which is the leading principle of the Apostle in his later teaching. In general terms it may be explained as the knowledge of Christ, in a more Jewish and less Christian manner, more from without and less from within, — a knowledge of him, the opposite of that which St. Paul speaks of in his later Epistles, as “the life hidden with Christ in God;” such as St. Paul had himself had in “the beginning of the Gospel;” such as he imparted to his converts, “when he was not able to speak unto them as unto spiritual but as fleshly, as babes in Christ,” 1 Cor. iii. 1. More than this, the connexion of the words will not justify us in assuming. But here the Epistle to the Thessalonians comes in to supply the deficiency. For if we find allusions in the Epistles to the Corinthians to a change in the Apostle’s teaching; if, further, a change is traceable in his extant writings, and if dates are consistent, it can hardly be thought fanciful or far-fetched to bring one into connexion with the other.

That such a change is capable of being traced has been already intimated. Both Epistles to the Thessalonians, with the exception of the personal narrative and of a few practical precepts, are the expansion and repetition of a single thought — “the coming of Christ.” It was the absorbing thought of the Apostle and his converts, quickened in both by the persecutions which they had suffered. It does not follow that with this expectation of Christ’s kingdom there mingled any vision of a temporal rule over the kingdoms of the earth; it did not even imply the hope suggested in the question of the Apostle’s, “Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel.” But there was that in it which fell short of the more perfect truth. It was not, “the kingdom of God is within you;” but “lo here, and lo there.” It was defined by time, and was to take place within the Apostle’s own life. The images in which it clothed itself were traditional among the Jews; they were outward and visible, liable to the misconstruction of the enemies of the faith, and to the misapprehension of the first converts, imperfectly, as the Apostle saw afterwards, conveying the inward and spiritual meaning. The kingdom which they described was not eternal and heavenly, but very near

and present, ready to burst forth everywhere, and by its very nearness in point of time seeming to touch our actual human state. Afterwards the kingdom of God appeared to remove itself within, to withdraw into the unseen world. The earthen vessel must be broken first, the believer unclothed that he may be clothed upon, and mortality swallowed up of life. He was no longer "waiting for the Son from heaven:" but "desirous to depart and be with Christ," Phil. i. 23. Such is the change, not so much in the Apostle's belief as in his mode of conception,—a change natural to the human mind itself, and above all to the Jewish mind, a change which, after it had taken place, left the vestiges of the prior state in the Montanism of the second century, which may not improperly be regarded as the spirit of the first century overliving itself. Old things had passed away; and behold, all things became new. And yet the former things—the material vision of Christ's kingdom—have ever been prone to return: not only in the first and second century, but in every age of enthusiasm men have been apt to walk by sight and not by faith. In the hour of trouble and perplexity, when darkness spreads itself over the earth, and Antichrist is already come, they have lifted up their eyes to the heavens, looking for the sign of the Son of Man.

We do not pretend precisely to draw the line between the earlier and later teaching of the Apostle. Some elements of the earlier mode of thought may be traced in the later Epistles, but, as it were, ready to vanish away, and attaching themselves less to the substance and more to the form of the Apostle's writings. When the things spoken of are such as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," it would be an error to dwell too much on the manner in which they are presented to us. Neither is it possible exactly to describe the nature of the Apostle's preaching "in the beginning of the Gospel," or to determine how much of it may have been based upon popular or traditional beliefs of the Jews, or what it had in common with the Montanism of the second century. The only sources from which we can gather even a conjectural answer to questions like these, are the Epistles to the Thessalonians themselves, the difference of which from the later Epistles is too

plain to be mistaken. Not that they are wanting, any more than the words of Christ in the Gospels, in the essential elements of Christian Truth, but they have less of the peculiar teaching of the Apostle. Whether the passage in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians be connected with them or not, this difference remains the same.

The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, though agreeing with the First in its general character, yet points in the direction of the later Epistles. It speaks, indeed, of the day of the Lord, under the same outward imagery; but it defers its advent: the course of this world is to go on for a time; the daily occupations of life are to be pursued; the day of the Lord is not at hand in any such sense that sudden confusion should arise; even if a letter under the Apostle's hand had said, or seemed to say (ii. 2.) the opposite of this, the converts were not to be shaken in their minds. It is in this respect that it agrees with the later writings of St. Paul, viz., in withdrawing the mind from an expectation of an immediate as well as outward coming of the Lord Jesus.

That our Lord should have been called King of the Jews, that the early expectation of the disciples should have been the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, that St. Paul should in his two first journeys have been carried before Roman governors as an enemy to Cæsar, that he and his fellow teachers should be designated as "they that turned the world upside down," affords a general confirmation of the view proposed in these remarks. True it is, that accusations may be utterly false, but more generally they have a colour of truth; there is something which, though in one sense false, supplies groundwork and support to the accusation. It is hardly likely, for example, at Thessalonica itself, that the Jews would have said, "These all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus," had the Apostle spoken only of a kingdom not of this world. It is remarkable, that on his third journey the persecution of the Roman governors has wholly ceased. Neither at the places which he then visited, nor on his trial at Jerusalem, is any suspicion urged of his teaching contrary to Cæsar.

Not to weary the reader with pursuing the subject of this digression into conjectures, we shall briefly sum up the inferences which have been drawn :—

1. That the difference between the earlier and later preaching of St. Paul was analogous to the difference which separated him from the Apostles of the circumcision, though not absolutely the same with it, as from the first St. Paul was set apart as the Apostle of the Gentiles. As they were the Apostles of the circumcision to those of the circumcision, so he might, in this earlier part of his course, have been described in his own words as the Apostle of the circumcision to the uncircumcised, the Jew to Gentiles.

2. That though the period of St. Paul's life here referred to is almost wholly unknown to us, it is indicated by himself in 2 Cor. v. 16., and may be fairly gathered from Gal. v. 11., that there was such a period, when he knew Christ according to the flesh, and might be thought to be a preacher of the circumcision.

3. That the earliest of his extant Epistles shows a corresponding difference from his later ones. Not that the expression "according to the flesh" need be applied to the Epistles themselves, or that in the language of the Reformer they are Epistles of straw. But the change that is implied in these words gives them a natural place in the life of St. Paul. Admit in him, what the Apostle himself acknowledges, a spiritual growth; and there is a point at which the Epistles to the Thessalonians fitly come in. They are no longer an exerescence on the Gospel which he preached, but a stage of it. They are not parts of a supernatural design, the pattern of which is to be restored after many ages, but simple and easy words going from one man's heart to touch those of others.

Supposing, then, that there was a time when the Apostle, in his own language, knew Christ according to the flesh (that is, more in a Jewish and less in a spiritual manner), a new light breaks on the Epistles to the Thessalonians. The difference of subject which distinguishes them from the other Epistles of St. Paul, is only what we should expect. They are full of practical precepts, and in this respect remind us of the Epistle of St. James; other portions of them approach more nearly than any other part of the New

Testament to the book of Revelation, the first vision of the Church descending from heaven to earth, the image of the hope and faith of the earliest believers. They breathe the spirit of the earlier chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the Apostles of Jerusalem are described as waiting for their Lord, watching the signs of those things that were coming to pass upon the earth. They say nothing of justification by faith and not by the works of the law, or of the mystical union with Christ, or of the Church which is his body; but no more does the earliest narrative of the primitive Church, or the Epistle of St. James, or the book of Revelation. They exhibit the Revelation of Christ in an external form, "descending from heaven with a shout," "in flaming fire taking vengeance;" also as present and immediate—"for we which are alive shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air." Such figures recall to us the prophecies of Daniel. Lastly, they set before us the likeness of a Gospel, simple, moral, practical,—looking to Christ as its author and finisher, but not yet entering into the deepest recesses of the human soul, nor in open antagonism with the law, nor reading the Old Testament as the allegory of the New.

All this is unlike the other Epistles of St. Paul, and has therefore been made a ground for doubting the genuineness of the Epistles to the Thessalonians. According to the view here taken, the very difference from the other Epistles tends in some degree to establish their genuineness, because it is a difference of a kind for which we are prepared by the remarkable expression which St. Paul uses respecting himself, "If we have known Christ according to the flesh, yea henceforth know we him no more." It is a difference that he himself indicates as it were by chance in another of his Epistles; and the earlier lesson as well as the later has been preserved to us.

Biblical criticism is, from the very nature of its subject matter, peculiarly liable to the error of stating as a certainty that which is no more than a probable conjecture. Anything short of certainty seems hardly worth having; and yet when facts are few and conclusions brought from afar, uncertainty will always remain. The

scantiness of our materials in the present instance is sufficient to warn us against too great a confidence in any hypothesis whatever. We have been stepping from one fragment to another; no one can tread firmly on such a footing. It would be equally erroneous to maintain the absolute certainty of the connexion which has been suggested, as to object to the attempt to trace such a connexion on grounds of doctrine. Whether the conjecture offered be sound or otherwise (and the peculiarity, it may once more be observed, of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as well as the meaning of 2 Cor. v. 16., are quite independent of it), it cannot be refuted on grounds of doctrine. Objections of this kind lie without the range of an historical inquiry. That St. Paul saw the truth more clearly at one period of his life than another, is simply a statement of his own. It is a fact of the same nature as his greater enlightenment than the Apostles at Jerusalem, or the preparation of John the Baptist for Christ's coming, or the relation of the Old Testament to the New. As in the world, so in the individual, we witness the formation of the Gospel, the preparations for it, the anticipations of it. If it be hard to imagine an inspired Apostle growing in the knowledge of Christian truth, it would be still harder (would it be more reverent?) to imagine him standing still. To deny differences of thought and character in the first teachers of Christianity, or in any one of them, at different times, or to deny the still greater differences of ages and states of society, renders the Scripture unmeaning, and, by depriving us of all rule of interpretation, enables us to substitute, for its historical and grammatical sense, any other that we please.

The perception of this growth and self-enlarging power of the truths of the Gospel, either as seen in the lives of the Apostles, or in the after history of the Church, is not inconsistent with the conviction of its Divine origin. All admit premises of which this is the conclusion. Those who shrink from such a view, should ask themselves which precept of the Gospel it takes away? or what duty of life it renders them unable to fulfil? That can hardly be a dangerous interpretation of Scripture, which leaves Christian prae-

tice unimpaired. Do the Epistles of St. Paul become more valuable to us if we deny that there is a progress in the Apostle's life, or less so if we affirm it? No words with which we may overlay them, or doctrines which may be maintained respecting them, can make them other than they are. The only way to increase their value, either to the cause of the truth or to our own souls, is to seek to discover nothing in them but the meaning of their author.

GENUINENESS OF THE FIRST EPISTLE.

THE First Epistle to the Thessalonians is not deficient in external evidence for its genuineness. It is quoted by Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian; is named in the Muratori fragment; and had a place among the ten Pauline Epistles, which were admitted into the Canon of Marcion, by whom it was ranked fifth in the list of St. Paul's writings. Like all the other books of the New Testament, it is said to have been corrupted by him, or rather, if Epiphanius may be trusted (*Hereses*, p. 371.), he left nothing of the original. The question of the relation of Marcion to the canon of Scripture is obscure, and one which, as we have no means of determining it from the Epistle to the Thessalonians, it would be out of place to discuss here. The fact, however, that he inserted the Epistle in his canon, is a proof that a writing under this name, identified by quotations of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, as the one which we possess, must have been received as a genuine work of St. Paul, at least as early as the middle of the second century.

It is not in consequence of any deficiency of external, but, as is supposed, of internal evidence, that doubts have been raised of late years respecting the genuineness of the Epistle. In some respects it has been thought too like, in others too unlike, undoubted writings of the Apostle, for us to maintain that it is from his hand. The critic by whom these difficulties have been chiefly urged, is Dr. Baur, of Tübingen, whose objections may be regarded as a summary of all that can be said on that side of the argument.* They may be conveniently arranged under the following heads:—

- i. Absence of individuality, and of doctrinal statements.

* Baur, *Paulus*, pp. 480—492.

- ii. The tone of a later age discernible in ii. 14—16.
- iii. Inconsistency with the Acts of the Apostles, in relation to some points of fact.
- iv. Perpetual reference to the events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, indicative of the sources whence the Epistle was compiled.
- v. Verbal similarities to passages in the other Epistles of St. Paul, leading to a suspicion of designed imitation.
- vi. Discrepancies from the other Epistles in modes of thought, especially traceable in iv. 13—18.

i. Absence of individuality (*eigenthumlichkeit*) and of doctrinal statements. “It is made up of nothing but wishes, instructions, admonitions — contains no doctrinal subject matter at all, with the single exception of the mention of the coming of Christ, iv. 13—18.”

There is a difficulty in meeting such objections as these, because, whatever real weight they may have, they ultimately resolve themselves into the impression of an individual critic, who, if he be gifted with the faculty of writing clearly, easily masters the judgment of his reader. Sometimes they come to us with overwhelming force; at other times we wonder that we can have been influenced by them at all. How an author *ought* to have written, is a question in which imagination has a wide range; a meagre induction gathered from a few short works, is not a sufficient criterion of how he must have written everywhere and at all times. Baur’s objections labour under the fallacy of presenting one side of the question only. Grounds of suspicion are endless; and in answer we can only accumulate the probabilities opposed to them. On the same ground with Baur, it may be argued with great truth, that the very absence of individuality agrees with the incidental character of the Epistles. Why should we expect them all to bear marks of “originality?” Might not the Apostle write as a man writes to his friends, without seeking to impart any new truth? Does not the First Epistle to the Thessalonians arise naturally from a real occasion—the return of Timothy with news respecting the converts—an occasion just similar to that of the Second Epistle

to the Corinthians? Is not one doctrine enough in the space of five short chapters? And is the disproportion between the doctrinal and practical sections any greater than in the case of some of the other Epistles?

Slight as these presumptions are, they may be fairly placed in the scale against an argument such as Baur's. If it were admitted that the absence of doctrinal ideas makes the Epistle unworthy of St. Paul, it makes it also a forgery without an object.

ii. The tone of a later age discernible in chap. ii. 16.: "For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost;" which is supposed to be an after-reflection on the destruction of Jerusalem.

To the Apostle, reading the future in the present, the state of Judea at any time during the last thirty years before the destruction of the city, would have been sufficient to justify the expression, "wrath is come upon them to the uttermost." The fearful looking for of judgment was natural, not only to Christians, but to Jews themselves, to Josephus as well as to St. Paul. The passage must not, however, be strained beyond its natural meaning. The word *ὀργή*, wrath, in other places (Rom i. 18.; ii. 8.) refers at least as much to final impenitence and hardness of heart, "the spiritual wrath of God," as to temporal judgments. And the connexion in which it occurs here, "forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved to fill up their sins alway," shows the Apostle to be speaking, not of punishment, but of reprobation.

iii. Inconsistencies with the Acts of the Apostles in some points of fact. These are: (1.) The statement of the Acts that Silas and Timotheus, after being left behind at Berea, came up with the Apostle at Corinth, after he had left them (Acts, xviii. 5.), compared with the fact recorded in the Epistle that Timothy was sent back from Athens to Thessalonica, 1 Thess. iii. 1.; and (2.) The impression conveyed by the Acts, xvii. 1.—5., that the Thessalonian Church was of Jewish origin, compared with the impression conveyed by 1 Thess. ii. 14. that it was Gentile; (3.) The statement that the persecution which the Thessalonians endured was of their own

countrymen, which is nevertheless recorded in the Acts to have been stirred up by Jews.

What reconciliation of these opposite views is possible will be considered in a note on Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*. It is sufficient here to observe, that the discrepancies alluded to, are not greater than those between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians, in the account of the council. If these latter discrepancies have never led any critic to doubt the Epistle to the Galatians, neither is there any reason why similar discrepancies should be assumed as fatal to the Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Another objection is based on the indications afforded by the Epistle, that the Church to which it is addressed had been already long established. Their faith is known in every place, i. 9.; they had a regular Church government, v. 12.; and some of their members had died since the Apostle's visit to them, iv. 13., although, according to the narrative of the Acts, but a few weeks, or at the most a few months, could have elapsed. Compare Acts, xvii. 1—8., xviii. 1—5.

The answer to this objection is to be sought, in the peculiar circumstances of the early Church, in which a year might be said to be like a day, and a whole life to be crowded into the moment of conversion. Men living in expectation of the coming of the Lord lost their measure of time; every hour was fraught to them with feelings and events. Nor must the language of the Apostle himself be too strictly interpreted when speaking of the Church, as seen by the eye of faith and love idealised before him. Compare 1 Cor. i. 9. especially as contrasted with the after tone of the Epistle; Rom. i. 8. Further it may be observed, that some kind of organisation was established by St. Paul, immediately on his first declaration of the Gospel everywhere among the new converts, Acts, xiv. 23.; and that nothing is implied in the word *προστάμενοι* but what must have existed in the Jewish Synagogue, and would naturally spring up in the Christian Church. The death of even one or two members of the Church might be sufficient to suggest the inquiry what became of the departed.

iv. Reference to the events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, indicative of the sources whence the Epistle was compiled.

Baur supposes the forger of the Epistle to have had before him, either the Acts of the Apostles themselves, or earlier documents from which the Acts of the Apostles were compiled. The Epistle appears to him to add nothing to the events narrated there.

Opposite probabilities are : (1.) The natural manner in which the events referred to are introduced. To go back to what happened while he was yet with them, is quite in character with the writings of the Apostle. In 1 Thessalonians, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, he recalls his converts to the moment of their first conversion ; as in the Corinthians he appeals to the witness of his own life, and awakens their sympathies by the mention of persecutions which he suffered for their sakes. There is scarcely one of his Epistles which has not several allusions of this kind. Hence there is no sort of improbability that many such might occur in the Thessalonians. But, on the other hand, it must be observed, (2.) That these resemblances to the Acts relate only to the persecution which the Apostle had endured at Philippi (ii. 2.), to the persecution of the Thessalonian Church (ii. 14.), and to his own stay at Athens ; and, (3.) That the discrepancies just noticed are of themselves opposite probabilities. For is it likely that a forger, carefully reading the Acts of the Apostles when compiling his Epistle, could have committed so clumsy an error as to send back Timothy and Silas, not from Corinth, but from Athens ? or would he have lighted upon so crude an invention as to send back Timothy at all, to satisfy the longing desire of the Apostle about his converts, when Timothy had just come from the place to which he was sent ? Or again, is it probable that he would have fallen into the inconsistency of representing that a Gentile which the Acts rather intimates to have been a Jewish Church ? Or, that persecution as raised by Gentiles, which the Acts informs us originated with Jews ? The greatest carelessness must be attributed to him, to account for such oversights. But the greatest ingenuity would have been required to imitate the style and topics of St. Paul, as he must be supposed to have done. It is a refinement not to be thought of, that he purposely differed from the Acts of the Apostles, with the view of concealing the sources from which his information was derived.

v. The next argument of Baur is of a more subtle kind, and can only be justly appreciated by a careful comparison of the passages on which it is based. He thinks that in 1 Thessalonians he can trace a repetition of the same thoughts that occur elsewhere in the writings of St. Paul; or, in other words, he supposes the Epistle to be a sort of cento ingeniously made up from other places.

The instances given by him are as follows:—

1 Thess. i. 5.

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ.

i. 6.

καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν ὁλίῳ πολλῇ.

i. 8.

ἀφ' ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχρηται ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐξελέλυθεν, ὥστε μὴ χρειάν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν τι.

ii. 4—10.

⁴ ἀλλὰ καθὼς δεδοκιμάσμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πιστευθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως λαλοῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ [τῷ] Θεῷ τῷ δοκιμάζοντι τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. ⁵ οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε οὔτε ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας (Θεὸς μάρ-

1 Cor. ii. 4.

καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

xi. 1.

μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ.

Rom. i. 8.

ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

1 Cor. ii. 4.—see above.

1 Cor. iv. 3—4.

ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑμαυτῷ σύννοιδας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμα), ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με κύριός ἐστιν.

1 Thess. ii. 4—10.

της), ⁶ οὔτε ζητοῦντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν, οὔτε ἀφ' ὑμῶν οὔτε ἀπ' ἄλλων, δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, ⁷ ἀλλ' ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα, ⁸ οὕτως ὁμιροῦμενοι ὑμῶν, εὐδοκοῦμεν μεταδοῦναι ὑμῖν οὐ μόνον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, διότι ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθητε. ⁹ μνημονεύετε γὰρ, ἀδελφοί, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχθον· νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινα ὑμῶν ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹⁰ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες καὶ ὁ θεός, ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐγενήθημεν.

ix. 15.

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κέχρημαι οὐδενὶ τούτων, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἐμοί· καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ τὸ καύχημά μου· οὐδεὶς κενώσει.

2 Cor. ii. 17.

οὐ γὰρ ἐσμεν ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ εἰλικρινείας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ κατενέναντι θεοῦ ἐν χριστῷ λαλοῦμεν.

v. 11.

Εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου, ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν, θεῷ δὲ πεφανερώμεθα· ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συνειδήσεσιν ὑμῶν πεφανερῶσθαι.

xi. 9.

καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἀβαρῇ ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐτήρησα καὶ τηρήσω.

That these are striking similarities is not to be doubted. The whole question turns upon the point, Of what nature is the similarity?

There is one kind of resemblance between two passages which indicates that one of them is an imitation or transcript of the other, while another kind proves them only to have been the production of the same mind. Even exact verbal agreements do not necessarily show more than that the same words have been used twice over by the same person. St. Paul, when writing nearly at the same time to the Ephesians and Colossians, might to both Churches repeat the same topics expressed in the same words, without this repetition necessarily shaking the genuineness of either Epistle. On the other hand, the portion of the Second Epistle of St. Peter and of the Epistle of St. Jude which is common to both is such as to demand a different explanation.

Which of these two alternatives we adopt, will depend chiefly on what we know of the author. The recurrence of the same thoughts or topics in two different works, may or may not be a presumption against the genuineness of both or either of them. Whether it is so, depends on some prior considerations which must be first brought into view.

i. Is it the way of an author to repeat himself? If we were able to say no, a strong presumption would be raised against the genuineness of a work which seemed to be but a repetition of his other writings. But if he were in the habit of repeating himself, the repetitions would be no disproof of the genuineness of the work in which they occurred.

They would be a slight presumption in its favour, or even a considerable one if made in a manner which was characteristic of the writer.

ii. The argument from similarity against the genuineness of one of two writings has a very different force when applied to a classical author or to the fluent rhetorician of a later age, and to a writer like St. Paul, whose style is constrained and vocabulary limited. Great masters of language are never at a loss for words; it is otherwise with those who are stammering in a foreign tongue.

iii. Similarities in words and terms only are not a presumption in favour of forgery, but rather the reverse, in the case of two works bearing the name of the same person. The forged book in ancient times was not a tessellated work of phrases and expressions derived from other writings of the supposed author. Whole passages were interpolated with an object, or perhaps without one, as they chanced to be remembered. But nothing would have been gained by stealing words.

Now, it must be observed: (1.) That the parallel which we have quoted in no instance extends to whole verses, like that of St. Jude and St. Peter; (2.) That they occur in a writer who, in his undoubtedly genuine Epistles, is remarkable for such repetitions. Not to mention the parallelism of the Ephesians and the Colossians,

the very passages, which we have already quoted from the two Epistles to the Corinthians, closely resemble similar expressions in the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans. Compare 1 Cor. ii. 4, iv. 3, 4. with Gal i. 10.; or 2 Cor. xii. 7. with Gal. iv. 14.; or Rom. xiv. with 1 Cor. viii.; or the deferred intention in 2 Cor. xiii. 1. with Rom. i. 13.; or the unwillingness to enter on another man's labours in Romans xv. 18—24. with 2 Cor. x. 14—16.; or Gal. iii. 6—12. with Rom. iv. 3—11. Almost every Epistle of St. Paul has a network of thoughts and expressions derived from the rest. And hence we infer that the passages in the Thessalonians quoted by Baur are rather to be regarded as an indication of the genuineness than of the spuriousness of the Epistle; because they are quoted in the manner in which St. Paul repeats himself; and, (3.) They are not of a kind which a forger could easily have invented.

It might be truly said of the early Ecclesiastical forgeries that nothing could exceed the readiness with which they were received; but, on the other hand, nothing could exceed the clumsiness of their falsification. They made no attempt to imitate the style of the author whose name they bore; they commonly carried on their face the object with which they were written. A forgery so ingenious as the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, containing so many latent resemblances to the genuine writings of the Apostle, would be unique in Ecclesiastical literature.

Paley remarks, that a writer of the second century would never have thought of attributing to St. Paul the expectation of the immediate end of the world, which had already been refuted by the course of events. Put in a slightly different point of view, the argument is perfectly just. He who may be supposed to have written the First Epistle to the Thessalonians in the second century, was probably a believer in the immediate advent of Christ. But whatever may have been his own belief, he would have felt the anachronism of putting into the mouth of one long since dead, words that implied that he would be alive when it took place. And the whole spirit of such a belief would have led him to have supported it by present immediate inspiration rather than by the testimony of an Apostle who had himself fallen asleep.

Lastly. Many positive evidences may be urged in favour of the genuineness of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. Among these we reckon the last of Baur's objections.

vi. The discrepancy in subject and modes of thought from the other Epistles, as accounted for in the preceding essay. Without laying greater stress on this argument than it deserves, we pass on to enumerate other internal evidences that the Epistle is St. Paul's. Such are: —

(1.) The desire to see the face of his converts, iii. 6. 10., and delayed intention to come to them, ii. 18. Compare Rom. i. 13., xv. 22.; 1 Cor. xvi. 1.; 2 Cor. i. 16., xiii. 1.; Phil. i. 8.; Philem. 22.

(2.) The lively sympathy with them throughout the Epistle. Such passages as ii. 17., iii. 5. 10., are good instances of this. He is taken from them in presence, not in heart; he lives if they stand fast in the Lord; they desire to see him, even as he them. These expressions show the same sort of reciprocity between the Apostle and his converts as is traceable in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. In both there is the same sensitiveness to every human as well as spiritual consolation, the same loneliness when separated from them, and the same joy at the good news of Titus and Timothy. Compare 1 Thess. ii. 17., iii. 6., with 2 Cor. vii. 5. 7., ii. 12, 13.; also Phil. iii. 25. 29.; Col. i. 7, 8. Yet great as is the similarity of thought, there is no similarity of language, such as that into which an imitator would naturally have fallen.

(3.) The frequent and characteristic mention of himself. As in the Galatians he perpetually recurs to the time when he was yet with them. It is through himself, in the remembrance of himself, that he would implant in them the image of Christ. And yet that which he especially seeks to recall, is the very absence of any claim or pretension on his part. He did not seek praise when he might have done so; he did not receive the maintenance to which, as an Apostle, he had a right, 2 Cor. xi. 9., xiii. 13, 14. Does not this remind us of him who did glory and did not glory, seeming, as it were, to assert and deny himself at once? And yet the favourite word *καυχᾶσθαι* nowhere occurs in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

(4.) The delicate manner in which reproof and admonition are conveyed, as what they already knew and practised, and had no need that the Apostle should teach them, iv. 9., v. 2.

(5.) The germs of thoughts and of precepts which may be traced in a more developed form in later Epistles (compare remarks at p. 3.). Thus the practical exhortations at the end of the Epistle, are more fully worked out in the twelfth chapter of the Romans; the figure in v. 8. is expanded in Eph. vi. 13—17. A slighter example of the same growth is traceable in the expression "Whether we wake or sleep we may live together with him," in v. 10., compared with the common phraseology of the Romans, Galatians, and the later Epistles. Another is the reference to the heathen origin of the Thessalonians, in i. 9.; compare 1 Cor. xii. 2.; Eph. ii. 11.; Gal. iv. 8.; also the mention made of the relation of the Church to those that are without, iv. 12. (compare Col. iv. 5.; Cor. vi. 1.) as well as of unity within, v. 13. A similar growth is observable in the allusion to the duty of the Church to support the teachers of the Gospel, when placed side by side with the larger manner in which the same subject is treated in 1 Cor. ix.; 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9.; xii. 13. In all these instances there is the kind of difference that we should expect to find between a thought or precept often dwelt upon and frequently repeated, and the same thought expressed for the first time in few words by a comparatively unpractised writer.

It has been objected against the genuineness of this Epistle, that it contains only a single statement of doctrine. But liveliness, personality, similar traits of disposition, are far more difficult to invent than statements of doctrine. A later age might have supplied these, but it could hardly have caught the very likeness and portrait of the Apostle. The strength of this argument is considerably increased when it is placed side by side with another of a wholly different kind, derived from mannerisms of style and language. Such are:—

(1.) The expansion and association of words traceable in passages, such as i. 2—6, 7, 8.; "Going off upon a word" or thought, ii. 18., v. 4.; "harping back upon one," ii. 1.; cf. i. 9., iii. 5.; cf. 1.; elucidation of one expression or one verse by another in apposition with it,

as in i. 9., iv. 3. 6.; the aggravation and accumulation of language in such passages as i. 2, 3. 5. 8.; the apparent unmeaningness of some emphatic expressions, ii. 5., iii. 11. v. 27.; the recurrence of the same forms of speech and thought at the commencement of successive verses and paragraphs, i. 9., ii. 1., ii. 3. 5., ii. 7. 11., iii. 1. 5., often traceable at a great distance, as in i. 6., ii. 14.; play of words, iv. 9.; exaggeration, iv. 10.; climax, ii. 8., i. 5., in the latter passage with the favourite *οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ*; negative and positive statements of the same thought, ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.; interrogative and positive statements, ii. 19, 20.

(2.) Peculiarities of another class, found in the Epistles to the Thessalonians as well as in other writings of St. Paul, are the following:—

The play of words *δεδοκιμάσμεθα, δοκιμάζοντι*, in ii. 4.; the paradox in i. 6., *ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου* (compare Col. i. 24.; 2 Cor. vii. 10., viii. 1.); the mixed metaphor respecting the day of the Lord in v. 5., also in the same passage the double use of *κλέπτῃς, κλέπτας* (compare Rom. xiii. 12.; 1 Cor. iii. 15.; and the inversion of thought in Rom. vii. 1—7.); the substitution of the present for the future, in iii. 19. (compare Rom. ii. 16.); verbal antithesis of prepositions, i. 5., *ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς*, iv. 7. *ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*, ii. 3. *οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης οὐδὲ ἐν δόλῳ*; pleonasms as in i. 3., ii. 9., v. 23.; repetition of *γάρ* in several successive verses, i. 8—ii. 1.; use of *γάρ* in question, ii. 19., iii. 9.; resumption of sentence after a digression with *διὰ τοῦτο*, iii. v., iii. 7.; the use of the double *ἵνα*, iv. 1.; peculiar uses of words and expressions such as *εὐαγγέλιον* for the preaching of the Gospel, 1 Thess. i. 5.; *ἀγών*, Col. iii. 1.; 1 Thess. ii. 2., to express the passionate earnestness of his feelings towards his converts; *χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος*, 1 Thess. ii. 19.; Phil. iv. 1., said also of his converts; *ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβάρῳ*, 2 Cor. iii. 5.; *δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι*, 1 Thess. ii. 6., of his burdening the Church with his maintenance. Compare also the following:—

ἄπων τῷ σώματι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι; 1 Cor. v. iii. *ἐν προσώπῳ καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ*, 2 Cor. v. 12. *προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ*, 1 Thess. ii. 17.

Such intricate similarities of language, such lively traits of character, it is not within the power of any forger to invent, and, least of all, of a forger of the second century.

THESSALONICA.

THESSALONICA, called in more ancient times Iialia, Emathia, and Therma, now Salonichi, was a populous city, the capital of one of the Roman divisions of Macedonia, situated at the north-east corner of the Thermaic Gulf. It was celebrated for its commerce and for the luxury of its inhabitants. Many notices of its history occur in classical authors; none of them, however, are such as connect with the subject of the Epistle. From the Acts of the Apostles we learn that there was a synagogue in the place, which may fairly be regarded as an indication of a large population of Jews (Acts, xvii. 1.). The first Christian Church there was founded by St. Paul, on his second Apostolical journey, after being shamefully entreated at Philippi, the first European city in which he preached the Gospel. The Epistle (1 Thess. ii. 14.) seems to imply that the predominant element was a Gentile one; the Acts of the Apostles, on the other hand, chiefly mentions Jewish proselytes. Whether heathen converts are also included in the words of Acts, xvii. 4., according to Lachmann's reading (*τῶν τε εὐβοιῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολὺ*), is uncertain. The first visit of St. Paul to Thessalonica was probably the occasion on which the Philippians (Phil. iv. 15, 16.), "in the beginning of the Gospel . . sent once and again to his necessity." Once more at least, the Apostle visited Thessalonica, in the year which preceded his last journey to Jerusalem.

It is not one of the objects of the present work to enter minutely either into the history of the cities to which the Epistles were addressed, or into the local features of the country in which they

were situated. To fill the mind with historical pictures or descriptions of scenery, will not in any degree help us to feel as the Apostles felt, or think as they thought, any more than the history of the reign of George the Third, or a description of the scenery of Somersetshire or Cornwall, would enable us to understand the life and character of Wesley or Whitfield. Interesting as such pictures may be, they tend to withdraw us from a higher interest, which is to be found only in the private character of the Gospel narrative itself.

It is not in the first, but in the second century, that the Church comes into contact with the world. The life of Christ and his Apostles stands in no relation to the public history of their time. None of the great events of the world appear to touch them; no edict of the Roman emperors, with the single exception of the command of Claudius that the Jews should depart from Rome, has the least effect on the fortunes of the infant communion. Even in this case, we arrive at no other result than that Aquila and Priscilla met with St. Paul at Corinth, and may conjecture of the possible influence of the dispersion of so many Jews throughout the empire. No name of any Christian convert in the New Testament can be certainly identified with the name of any one known to us from profane history.

Neither are the descriptions of particular cities or countries at all more instructive. The fact, that at Thessalonica there were many thousand Jews, is of very slight importance in connexion with an Epistle addressed to Gentiles; it is not more than a probability, that we can trace in the erring Galatians the spirit of the worshippers of Cybele or of the followers of Montanus. No amount of research into the history of the time, would inform us of the first question respecting all the Epistles, whether they were addressed to Jews or Gentiles.

Such historical or topographical inquiries are of interest to the antiquarian; they are like the relaxation of foreign travel after severe study: but they have no real connexion with the inter-

pretation of Scripture; and they tend to withdraw the mind from the true sources of illustration of the Epistles, and the true nature of the earliest Christianity. They lead us away from the internal relation of all Jewish and heathen thought to the truths of the Gospel, to a relation between the Church and the world which is purely accidental and external. They tend to give a national and historical character to Christianity, ere yet it appeared to the eye of man as a phenomenon of history. It is not the least danger of such inquiries that they fill up the void of materials by innumerable conjectures.

The traveller in Greece or in Asia who has followed in the footsteps of the Apostles, who has beheld with his own eyes the same scenes that were looked upon by St. Paul and St. John, is loth to believe that he can add nothing to our knowledge of the Seven Churches, or of the labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Those scenes have a never-dying interest; but it is for themselves alone. Fain would we imagine the sight upon which St. Paul looked, when standing on Mars' Hill, he beheld "the city wholly given to idolatry;" fain would we see in fancy the desert rocks of the sea-girt isle, on which St. John gazed when he wrote the Apocalypse. But we must not transfer to the ancient world our own impressions of nature or of art. Of that sensibility to the beauties of scenery, or of that romantic recollection of the past, which are such remarkable characteristics of our own day, there is no trace in the writings of the New Testament, nor any reason to suppose that they had a place in the minds of its authors.

Taking the other aspect of the subject, we are far from denying that the birth of Christianity is the most interesting of historical facts; but its interest is also for itself alone: it is not derived from any political influence which the Gospel at first exercised, or from any political causes which may have favoured or given rise to it. In the vastness of the Roman world, it is as a small isolated spot, the light, as it were, of a candle, which must be sought for, not in the court of Caesar, nor amid the factions of Jerusalem, but in the

upper chamber in which the disciples met when "the number of the names together was about an hundred and twenty, and the doors were shut for fear of the Jews." It is one of those minute facts which escape the eye of the contemporary historian, and must not be drawn before its time into the circle of political events. Its first greatness is the very contrast which it presents with the greatness of history. Strange it is to think of the contemporary heathen world, of Tiberius at Capreæ, of the Roman senate, of the solid framework of the Roman empire itself. But when this first feeling of surprise has passed away, we become aware that the page of Tacitus, or even of Josephus, adds nothing worth speaking of to our knowledge of the earliest Christianity. The most remarkable fact supplied by them is their unconsciousness of its importance.

DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

NEITHER the date at which the First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, nor the place from which it was written, can be determined with exact certainty; but little doubt can be entertained that it must have been written either at Athens or Corinth, and therefore either before the Apostle went to Corinth or during the eighteen months' stay in that city which closes his second Apostolical journey. The only other possible supposition, that it was written from Asia Minor, is not, indeed, directly contradicted by any fact mentioned in the Epistle, but is inconsistent with its general tone and character; for, from 1 Thess. iii. 6., it is obvious that the Epistle was written shortly, if not immediately, after the return of Timothy ("But now, when Timotheus came from us to you"). But Timothy was sent to Thessalonica during the Apostle's stay at Athens, after which intervened the eighteen months' sojourn at Corinth. Hence, if the Epistle was written from Ephesus or some other place in Asia Minor, the Apostle would be referring, in the expression just quoted, to what had taken place two years before. But no one would use such an expression, or refer so precisely to his feelings at the time as St. Paul does in the preceding verses (iii. 1—5.), if he were speaking of what was separated from him by so long an interval.

Still we have not determined whether the Epistle was written from Athens or Corinth. In the examination of this question, another is involved, which will be more fully discussed elsewhere. The third chapter of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians is commonly thought to be, in some particulars, inconsistent with the

corresponding passage in the Acts. In the Epistle, Timothy appears to be sent back from Athens, while, in the Acts, he is left behind at Berea (Acts, xvii. 14., "But Silas and Timotheus abode there still"), and comes up with the Apostle again at Corinth after he has left Athens. (1.) This discrepancy has been regarded by Paley as an undesigned coincidence, the Epistle, as he conceives, supplying a circumstance (viz., the return of Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica) which makes statements in the history more natural and probable. For a fuller investigation of this question, and an examination of the difficulties in which Paley's hypothesis is involved, the reader is referred to the note on the *Horæ Paulinæ*. (2.) It may be further maintained that the discrepancy itself is not real, but apparent; for it is not expressly asserted that it was from Athens that Timothy was sent back. St. Paul's solitude at Athens might be the consequence of Timothy's visit; but the sending may have been from Berea to Thessalonica. And it might be further suggested, that the words "but Satan hindered me," in ii. 18., referred to the persecutions which prevented the Apostle himself returning from Berea to Thessalonica. This is a possible hypothesis; but it must be admitted to run counter to the first and most obvious meaning of the words of the Epistle. (3.) We may suppose an inaccuracy in the Acts, the writer of which may not have known of the lengthened stay of the Apostle at Athens.

Taking the language of the Epistle only, our natural inference would be, that the time at which it was written was not long after the conversion of the Thessalonians, very shortly after the Apostle had sent Timothy from Athens, and immediately after the return of Timothy from visiting his converts. Whether, on the return of Timothy, St. Paul was at the same place from which he sent Timothy, or not,—at Athens, that is, or at Corinth—it would be idle to inquire. He may have been at Athens, he may have been at Corinth; he may have returned from one to the other, he may have been in the neighbourhood of either. This is the real, though not very precise, result of an examination of the Epistle itself. A

probability or two might be added from a comparison of the Acts ; but we shall do better to confine ourselves to the natural meaning of the Epistle, without seeking to form a tortuous harmony by the uncertain insertion of additional circumstances derived from other sources. The statements of the Epistle are a real confirmation of the narrative of the Acts ; and the degree of coincidence in the narrative of the Acts is a sufficient evidence that the Epistle must have been written on the second Apostolical journey.

SUBJECT OF THE EPISTLE.

LIKE the other writings of St. Paul, the First Epistle to the Thessalonians may be divided into two parts: the one personal, the other doctrinal or practical. The one relating to them, chap. i., and to himself, chap. ii. and iii.; the other comprising practical exhortations, iv. and v., to sanctification, to quietness, to obedience, to peace, combined with instruction as to the coming of Christ, iii. 12., and the duty of watchfulness against his appearing.

An epistle is apt to appear to us irrelevant if we ask too precisely for its object. It is not a treatise, nor a sermon, nor necessarily written with any particular design, or confined to a particular subject. It is the natural outpouring of the Apostle's soul to those whom he esteems "very highly in love for Christ's sake." It says much of them in thankfulness for their conversion; it says much of himself to awaken their sympathy. The exact bearing of each verse on a particular end, is not to be considered. The best lessons and the highest truths are often taught in the most indirect manner, arising many times from the most incidental occasions, gleaming through natural affection, suggested often by commendation rather than by rebuke of the persons to whom they are addressed. Nothing can be more indirect, or occasional, than most of the Epistles of St. Paul: they seem to have hardly any set purpose; they are the fragments or remains of his life, not the exposition of his system. Unmeaning they can only appear when we judge them by a modern standard, and when, losing sight of him and his converts, we attempt to elicit from them notions of philosophy, or revelations of the unseen world.

It does not detract from the value of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians to say that it is without an object. That is, it has no other object but to confirm their faith and remind them of what they owed to the Apostle, as a motive for their continuance in the lesson which he had taught them. The greater part of it is a simple narrative of "his manner of entering into them" and its results. As though he had said, "Remember who it was who showed you these things; who spoke to you disinterested words; who drew you towards him with cords of love, as a nurse among her children, as a father with his sons." The burden of the first three chapters is his love to them and theirs to him; his anxiety to hear of them and to see them. But love cannot abstain from exhortation; not that it has new commands to give, or fresh lessons to impart, but the very excess of love pours itself forth in thrice-told admonitions and consolations. Trite precepts are repeated by the Apostle as by a parent, not because his children know them not, but in the hope that this time they may strike home upon them with some peculiar force or influence.

From the personal narrative which, in the first half of the Epistle, he has made the vehicle of his instruction, he passes on to a more general lesson. There is no peculiar appropriateness in the manner in which the topics of the fourth and fifth chapters follow one another. They are, first, purity; secondly, love of the brethren; thirdly, the state of the departed, and the coming of Christ; fourthly, peace and order; these are followed by particular and apparently disjointed precepts. It is not impossible to trace a connexion of the second and fourth with the third in the series; for affection for one another may have led to an inquiry "concerning them which are asleep," and the belief in the approaching Advent, with which the anxiety about the dead was connected, was probably the source of disorder in the Church. Compare 2 Thess. ii. 2. But however interesting such an association may be, we cannot feel certain that it had any real existence in the Apostle's mind. More naturally we may suppose that, as in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he

writes without connexion, as the several subjects occur to him, or may have been suggested by the news of Timothy, as in the former case by certain of the household of Chloe.

The subject which stands out most prominently in this latter portion of the Epistle, is the state of the departed. The formula with which it is introduced reminds us of the similar formula at the commencement of the tenth chapter of the First of Corinthians, "Moreover, brethren, I would not have you ignorant;" which, in the same way, forms a transition to a fresh topic. It is closely connected with that which is the under current of the whole Epistle, the near approach of the coming of Christ; and probably arises out of some inquiry made of the Apostle by those who were sorrowing for lost friends or kinsmen, who seemed to them not only to have passed, like the Israelites of old, from the presence of God, but from the hope of Messiah's kingdom.

The ground of consolation is the same as that of 1 Cor. xv. 21., "Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead;" 1 Thess. iv. 14., "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will Christ bring with him;" though the form is different. It is the object of the Apostle to do away with the dreary thought which we infer the Thessalonians to have entertained, that they were for ever separated from the dead. Their heaven was on earth, where they were expecting the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Apostle comforts them with the assurance that, even if they should not go to the dead, the dead should return to them; that in that kingdom they were not to be parted, but together, the living with the dead and both with Christ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ
Α.

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ Α.

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ¹
 Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ χριστῷ.
 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη [ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου
 Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ].

I. Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος, *Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus.*] St. Paul omits the title of Apostle, either because he had not yet assumed it, or because his name here, as in the Epistle to the Philippians, is associated with others; or in accordance with the absence of the tone of authority which generally marks the Epistle. The manner and the steps by which he came to be recognised as on a level with the Twelve, and "not a whit behind the chiefest of the Apostles," can no longer be traced. In the Epistle which follows next in chronological order we find him earnestly asserting his claim to apostolical authority, and appealing to the success of his teaching as the seal of his mission. Whether the enforcement of such a claim in the Galatians, or the omission of the title in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, can be regarded as indications that there was a time at which his apostleship was not universally recognised, or the right to it asserted by himself, are questions which may be suggested, but cannot be satisfactorily answered. Probably the name Apostle, which in its general sense was used of many, was gradually, and at no definite period, applied to him with the same special meaning as to the Apostles at Jerusalem. Cf. 2 Cor.

viii. 23.; xi. 5.; 1 Cor. iv. 9.; Rom. xvi. 7., and below, ii. 6. He is not mentioned with the Twelve in the book of the Revelation (c. xxi. 14.).

Silvanus is the Silas of the Acts, first mentioned in chap. xv. 22. 32., as a chief man and a prophet among the brethren at Jerusalem. He was sent down to Antioch on a mission relating to the disputes about circumcision. After his mission was fulfilled he remained with St. Paul, whom he accompanied on his second Apostolical journey. The last mention of him in the Acts is found in xviii. 5., on the occasion of his overtaking the Apostle at Corinth, where he joined him in preaching the Gospel (2 Cor. i. 19.). Once more the name occurs, in 1 Pet. v. 12. If it be the name of the same person, he must be supposed to have left St. Paul, and to have followed St. Peter to Babylon (v. 13.).

That Silvanus here as elsewhere is placed before Timotheus, may be considered as what Paley terms an "undesigned coincidence" (though a slight one) with the narrative of the Acts, in which Silas is spoken of as a leader in the church at Jerusalem before the call of Timothy.

Timotheus is mentioned in Acts, xvi. 1. as "the son of a certain

I. THESSALONIANS.

- 1 PAUL, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; Grace unto you, and peace [from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ].

woman which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek." It was at Lystra, in Lycaonia, St. Paul met with him, on his second Apostolical journey (whether after a previous acquaintance on his first journey or not, is not stated), and, intending him to go forth with him, had him circumcised, to obviate the prejudice with which, as a preacher of the Gospel, he might be regarded among the Jews, in consequence of his half Gentile extraction. He accompanied Paul on his two journeys into Greece, was probably with him at Philippi and Thessalonica (though not expressly mentioned as sharing in the persecutions of the Apostle and Silas), and certainly at Corinth (Acts, xviii. 5.). On the occasion of St. Paul's last journey he sent on Timothy from Ephesus into Macedonia (Acts, xix. 22.); thence to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17.); from which latter place he returned and met the Apostle on his journey thither, in Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 1.). He was with him at the time of writing the Epistle to the Romans, that is, in Corinth or its neighbourhood (Rom. xvi. 21.); was sent forward to Troas on his return through Macedonia (Acts, xx. 5.), and reappears as the companion of St. Paul during his imprisonment at Rome

(Phil. i. 1.; Col. i. 1.; Philem. 1.). The last mention of his name occurs in Heb. xiii. 23.:—"Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty."

No one so much as Timothy bore the image of St. Paul himself: "He worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do." (1 Cor. xvi. 10.) "For I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state." (Phil. ii. 20.). "As a son with the father, he hath served with me in the Gospel" (22.).

τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, to the church,] Thess., Gal., Cor.; but *τοῖς ἁγίοις* · · *κληροῖς ἁγίοις*, in Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. It cannot be inferred from this difference of expression, that the latter Epistles were addressed to private persons, as Philippi and Ephesus were quite as likely to have had regular Churches as Galatia and Thessalonica. Yet it is remarkable that the change of form should occur in all the later Epistles; perhaps because to the Apostle, in his later years, the Church on earth seemed already passing into the heavens. The word *ἐκκλησία* (church) is used in the LXX. for the congregation, indifferently with *συναγωγή* (congregation). It is found also in the Gospel of St. Matthew; in

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, ²
 μνεῖαν ¹ ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν, ἀδιαλείπτως ³

¹ Add ὑμῶν.

the Epistles of St. John and St. James, as well as in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of the Revelation. It could not, therefore, have belonged to any one party or division of the Church. In the time of St. Paul it was the general term, and was gradually appropriated to the Christian Church. All the sacred associations with which that was invested as the body of Christ, were transferred to it, and the words, συναγωγὴ and ἐκκλησία, soon became as distinct as the things to which they were applied. The very rapidity with which ἐκκλησία acquired its new meaning, is a proof of the life and force which from the first the thought of communion with one another must have exerted on the minds of the earliest believers. Some indication of the transition is traceable in Heb. ii. 12., where the words of Ps. xxii. 23., "in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee," are adopted in a Christian sense; also in Heb. xii. 23., where the Old and New Testament meanings of ἐκκλησία are similarly blended.

ἐν θεῷ πατρί, *in God the Father*] is closely connected with the preceding words. All things in their highest aspect, churches, individuals, the actions, feelings, and words of men, are in God and Christ; they pass out of themselves into union with the Divine nature; they rest in God, have their place in Him, "take up their abode" in

Him (compare John, xiv. 10. 20.; Phil. iv. 2.; Eph. vi. i.). The nearest approach in classical Greek to this "Christian" signification of the preposition ἐν is its use with the person (ἐν σοὶ, ἐμοὶ, ἐαυτῷ) in the sense of "in the power of." Language of this sort can hardly be said to exist among ourselves; it is only repeated from the New Testament. Yet so it was the early Church thought and felt.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, *grace unto you and peace.*] The Christian form of salutation being, an adaptation of the Greek χαίρειν, united with the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם.

ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, *from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.*] These words are omitted by about half the MS. authorities, and are probably interpolated from the salutations of other epistles. It may be argued, that either their omission or insertion was occasioned by the ἐν θεῷ πατρί, which precedes.

A similar omission or insertion (probably the latter and arising from the same cause) occurs in Rom. viii. i.; Matt. vi. 13., and elsewhere.

2—10. Few passages are more characteristic of the style of St. Paul than that on which we are entering. First, as it is the overflowing of his soul in thankfulness for his converts, about whom he can never say too much. Secondly, in the very form and structure of the sentences, which

2 We give thanks to God always for you all, making
3 mention of you at* our prayers; remembering without

seem to grow under his hand, gaining force in each successive clause by the repetition and expansion of the preceding. A classical or modern writer distinguishes his several propositions, assigning to each its exact relation to what goes before and follows, that he may give meaning and articulation to the whole. The manner of St. Paul is the reverse of this. He overlays one proposition with another, the second just emerging beyond the first, and arising out of association with it, but not always standing in a clear relation to it. Thus in the passage which we are considering, ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύοντες, in ver. 3., is a repetition of εὐχαριστοῦμεν πάντοτε and μνείαν ποιούμενοι, in ver. 2. Again, with reference to the latter words themselves, it is not clear whether μνείαν ποιούμενοι is an addition to, or a limitation on, εὐχαριστοῦμεν. A little lower down, ver. 5., the clause ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, κ. τ. λ., is a sort of afterthought on τὴν ἐκλογήν. In like manner, whether in the words καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταί, in the 6th verse, the Apostle carries in his thoughts the preceding οἴδατε, or not, is uncertain. Ver. 8. is an amplification of ver. 7., and in ver. 8. itself the language of the second clause is varied from that of the first, without any variation of meaning; in v. 9. the words, δουλεύειν θεῷ ὧντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ, are an extension of the preceding ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων. At the commencement of chap. ii. we appear to break off and pass on to a new subject,

and yet are but resuming the thread of ver. 5. and 6. in the preceding.

Leaving the form, let us go on to the substance. The Apostle is full of thankfulness to God for the conversion of the Thessalonians, which has brought forth such unmistakeable fruits of righteousness. These are just in accordance with the manner of their reception of the Gospel, the manner in which he preached and they believed. It seemed to have a peculiar power over them, received with joy amid persecutions; they were as burning and shining lights in all that land. Their conversion was in all men's mouths, who could not help, of their own accord, telling even the Apostle himself how these idolaters had come to the knowledge of the true God; and how they, like the other disciples, had learned to sit waiting for the day of the Lord. In such manner does the Apostle, in the excess of his affection for them, not without knowledge of the way in which to approach human nature, transform the language of compliment into a spiritual lesson.

2. εὐχαριστοῦμεν, *we give thanks.*] The plural, as in chap. ii. 13. 17. 18., iii. 1., is most naturally explained by being referred exclusively to St. Paul. The personal feelings of thankfulness as here, the desire to see them (ii. 18.), the sense of weakness (iii. 1.), can hardly refer to others than himself.

πάντοτε, with εὐχαριστεῖν.] Compare 2 Thess. ii. 13. περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, *for all of*

μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου
τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν
εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, 4
ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ 5
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ ἐν

you.] Forgetting none; such is our never failing habit.

μνείαν ποιοῦμενοι, *making mention.*] Either (1.) we give thanks as often as we make mention of you or remember you in our prayers; or better (2.), we give thanks in prayer; the second clause only developing, not limiting, the first.

ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν, *at our prayers.*] ἐπὶ not "in" or "among," but "at," in the sense of "at the time of," "during;" as in the use with the participle ἐπὶ κύρου βασιλείουτος. The expression ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, which occurs in Col. iv. 2., ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς changes the point of view, though hardly the sense; the preposition ἐν representing a closer relation between the substantive and the verb without any idea of time.

3. Here, as in 1 Cor. xiii., faith, hope, and love meet together in one.

τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως, *work of faith,*] has been variously explained as meaning the reality of your faith, or the fact of your receiving the Gospel, or the working of your faith. Better your work of faith, that is, the Christian life which springs from faith. (Comp. 2 Thess. i. 11.)

τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, *labour of love.*] The labour which love undergoes, a love that avoids no sacrifices and shuns no toils for the good of others. Such as their

own Jason had shown amid persecutions, in Acts, xvii. Comp. Heb. iii. 10. :—"For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and love which ye have shewed towards his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints and do minister."

ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος, *patience of hope.*] The patience which is sustained by hope. (Comp. Rom. iv. 18., viii. 24.) Remembering, the Apostle would say, your faith, hope, and love; a faith that had its outward effect on your lives; a love that spent itself in the service of others; a hope that was no mere transient feeling, but was content to wait for the things unseen, when Christ should be revealed. Compare v. 10.; also 2 Thess. iii. 5. εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ; and Apoc. ii. 2., where the first triplet of words occurs in the same order; οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου.

It is most natural to explain all the three genitives in the same way, "your work springing from faith, your labour springing from love, your patience springing from the hope" of the coming of Christ, although it is true that patience and hope occur in a different order in Rom. v. 4. Were it not for the parallelism, hope might be taken either as the source of patience or the mode in which it shows itself; and yet

ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope of* our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight
 4 of our God * and Father ; knowing, brethren beloved of *
 5 God, your election, that * our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance ; as ye know what man-

the lover of grammatical niceties might argue that the parallelism is destroyed by the words that follow, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, which cannot equally apply to all which precedes.

ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, *in the sight of God and our Father.*] These words may be either connected with μνημονεύοντες, “remembering you in the presence of God our Father ;” and regarded as answering to “making mention of you in our prayers,” in the preceding verse ; or the Apostle may intend to express that their faith, hope, and charity were in the presence of God, and had gone up before Him. (Comp. note on ver. 1.) The latter is confirmed by the order of the words and the common use of language in St. Paul (Rom. iv. 17., xiv. 22.).

4. ὑπὸ Θεοῦ is to be taken with ἡγαπημένοι, as 2 Thess. ii. 13. : ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου ; cf. Eccl. xlv. 1.

εἰδότες τὴν ἐκλογὴν, *knowing your election.*] Either (1.) knowing that ye are elect, the proof of which is the power with which the Gospel came to you ; or (2.) knowing the manner of your election, of which the following verse serves as a further elucidation. Compare οἶδατε τὴν εἰσοδὸν ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν, ii. 1. ; and βλέπετε τὴν κλησιν ὑμῶν ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοί, κ. τ. λ. 1 Cor. i. 26. ; Rom.

xiii. 11. The idiomatic usage of ὅτι after a substantive in the accusative and the resumption of εἰδότες in οἶδατε in ii. 1., where a similar construction follows, are in favour of the second mode of construing the passage. The Apostle calls to mind their reception of the Gospel, which showed that they had received the Spirit and were elect of God. Compare Gal. iii. 1. 2., for a similar appeal, though in a different spirit, to the hour of conversion.

5. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, *our Gospel.*] Our preaching of the Gospel. Compare Rom. xvi. 25. ; Gal. ii. 7.

ἐγενήθη. Either (1.) did not come unto you, without emphasis, as below, v. 5 ; or (2.) did not take effect, come to pass, as in 2 Kings, xvii. 23., ὅτι οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἡ βουλή αὐτοῦ. Compare also ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ in 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8.

ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, *in word only,*] is to be referred to the influence of his preaching on the Thessalonians. Our preaching was not a mere word with you.

ἐν δυνάμει, *in power.*] But had a power over your hearts, and was followed by gifts of the Spirit. Compare 1 Cor. ii. 4., οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ : also 1 Cor. iv. 19. It has been said that the words “in the Holy Spirit” could only refer to the Apostle’s mode of

πληροφορία πολλῇ, καθὼς οἶδατε οἱοι ἐγενήθημεν ἐν ὑμῖν
 δι' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, 6
 δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος
 ἁγίου, ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπον¹ πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν 7
 ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ² Ἀχαΐᾳ. ἀφ' ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχηται 8
 ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ²
 Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλ'³ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν

¹ τύπους.² Omit ἐν τῇ.³ Add καί.

preaching, not to the gifts by which it was accompanied, and which were beyond his power to produce. But does the Apostle thus separate himself from the Spirit working in him? rather ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ implies the communion of the Spirit with himself and them, or, in other words, the inspiration of the speaker caught by the hearers, whose acceptance of it was the evidence of its spiritual power.

ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ *in much assurance,*] also refers to the Apostle first, afterwards to his converts. According to the two principal meanings of πληροφορέω, to fulfil or to assure, the word πληροφορία in this passage may have two senses, either (1.) assurance, or (2.) fulfilment; though from the Apostle blending himself and his converts they can hardly be kept distinct.

The preposition ἐν is equally translatable by the English "in," with all the four substantives which precede. Yet a slight change of meaning is perceptible: from the "manner" with the two first to what may be termed the closer relation of "inherence" in the third (cf. v. 2.), and the weaker one of result or accompaniment in the fourth.

For still more various uses of ἐν in the same sentence, compare 2 Cor. vi. 4—7.

καθὼς οἶδατε, *as ye know.*] In the preceding words the Apostle has been describing the effect of his preaching on the hearts of his hearers: "It came to you not in word merely, but in power." It was a mutual influence, "so we preached, and so ye believed." In what follows, the Apostle expresses this more clearly. "Ye know what we were among you for your sakes (δι' ὑμᾶς), and ye followed our example, and the Lord's." καθὼς οἶδατε contains also a faint opposition to εἰδότες. We know the manner of your election, as ye to whom we appeal bear witness of our behaviour among you.

6. καὶ ὑμεῖς, in the next verse may be regarded, either as a continuation of the preceding οἱοι, or as a new sentence. Compare 1 Cor. xi. 1.: μιμηταί μου γένησθε, καθὼς ἐγὼ χριστοῦ.

ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ, *in much affliction.*] Compare the words of Christ, Matt. v. 11.; Luke, vi. 22.; Mark, x. 30. The narrative of their persecutions is given in Acts, xviii., arising, as in most places, from the enmity of the Jews.

6 ner of men we were among you for your sake ; and ye
became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received
the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy
7 Ghost : so that ye were an ensample ¹ to all that believe
8 in Macedonia and in ² Achaia. For from you has * been
sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia
and in ² Achaia, but ³ in every place your faith to God-

¹ Ensamples.

² Omit in.

³ Add also.

The suffering that comes from without, cannot depress the spirit of a man who is faithful in a good cause. It is only when "from within are fears" that the mind is enslaved. For in the spiritual world joy and sorrow are not two, but one. The servant of Christ feels a sort of exhilaration at the contrast between himself and the world, similar to that of the soldier on the battle field, in the presence of danger and death. He is not like another man, but at once above and below others ; he has the sentence of death in himself, and is yet more than a conqueror. It is this peculiarity of the Christian character that the Apostle expresses by "joy of the Holy Ghost," "glorying in the Lord," "fulness of consolation : " "rejoicing in his sufferings, and filling up what was wanting of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh." See also the alternations of feeling in 2 Cor. vi. 10. : "As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing." Herein too the Thessalonians were "followers of St. Paul as he was of Christ." Compare John xii. 23., "The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified ;" and the double character of the discourse in the following

chapters which precedes our Lord's passion.

χαρὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου is a stronger expression for χαρὰ πνευματικῇ, or ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

7. It is an over-curious refinement on the use of the article in this passage to say that it has a collective force. Better with the Authorised Version, "All that believe." Compare Rom. x. 12., 1 Cor. i. 2.

8. ἀφ' ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχηται, *for from you has been sounded out.*] Not you became preachers of the Gospel to others, or you were an example to others, or, beginning with you first, I preached to others ; but from you first the word has made itself felt, as it were, with the sound of a trumpet, and your conversion was so remarkable that it attracted the eyes of men : the light shone upon all Macedonia and Achaia, and in all other places.

Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα, *Macedonia and Achaia.*] The proconsular divisions of Greece under the Romans.

ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, *in every place.*] How could it be said, that the faith of the Thessalonians was known everywhere? It has been sometimes attempted to remove this difficulty by taking

ἐξελέλυθεν, ὥστε μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς¹ λαλεῖν τι. Αὐτοὶ 9
 γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ὅποιαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν²
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
 εἰδώλων, δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ καὶ ἀναμένειν 10
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ἡγείρεν ἐκ τῶν³ νεκρῶν,
 Ἰησοῦν τὸν ρυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης.

¹ ἡμᾶς ἔχειν.² ἔχομεν.³ Omit τῶν.

οὐ μόνον (not only) with ἐξήχηται (for from you has not only been sounded out), which is objectionable, however, both upon the ground of the order of the words and the pooriness of the sense. It is better to admit that the language of St. Paul, uttered in the fulness of his heart, is not to be construed strictly, any more than where he says, in like manner, that the faith of the Romans was known over the whole world (Rom. i. 8.), or that the Gospel of which he was a minister was preached to every creature under heaven. He means, in other words, that not only in Greece, but in Asia, wherever there were believers, the news of the Thessalonian conversion had spread, or rather must have spread; he had no need to speak of them, for the report of them had preceded him on his way.

It is not necessary that these latter words should be connected with ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ; the meaning would be assisted if, instead of adopting Lachmann's punctuation, the clause, ὥστε μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν τι, were separated by a colon from ἐξελέλυθεν, and closely joined with the following verse.

9. Αὐτοί, *they themselves.*] They

whom you might expect to be asking questions of us, come instead to us, and tell us of your friendly reception of us and of your conversion. For a similar turn of expression, compare John xvi. 27. Here, as elsewhere in the New Testament, more frequently than in classical Greek (Rom. ii. 26., &c.), αὐτὸς is used with an imperfect antecedent, to be supplied from the context.

ὅποιαν εἴσοδον, *what an entrance we had to you,*] i. e. with what success we preached the Gospel.

καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε, *and how ye turned.*] And how ye turned from idols to serve the living God of Jew and Gentile. Compare Gal. iv. 8.: — "Howbeit, then, when ye knew not God, ye did service to them which by nature are no gods." Yet in both Churches there must have been a Jewish as well as a Gentile element, Acts, xvii. 4.; Gal. iv. 9.

δουλεύειν, *to serve.*] Infinitive of the object, a use of it which becomes more and more frequent in the later language, until, by a sort of reaction, as if the vague sense of the mood were not worth keeping, it is superseded by ἵνα with the subjunctive

10. It appears remarkable that

ward is spread abroad ; so that we need not to speak any
 9 thing. For they themselves shew of us what manner of
 entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to
 10 God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to
 wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the
 dead, Jesus, which delivereth* us from the wrath to come.

St. Paul should make the essence of the Gospel consist, not in the belief in Christ, or in taking up the cross of Christ, but in the hope of his coming again. Such, however, was the faith of the Thessalonian Church, such is the tone and spirit of the Epistle. Neither in the Apostolic times, nor in our own, can we reduce all to the same type. One aspect of the Gospel is more outward, another more inward ; one seems to connect with the life of Christ, another with his death ; one with his birth into the world, another with his coming again. If we will not insist on determining the times and the seasons, or on knowing the manner how, all these different ways may lead us within the veil. The faith of modern times embraces many parts or truths ; yet we allow men, according to their individual character, to dwell on this truth, or that, as more peculiarly appropriate to their nature. The faith of the early Church was simpler and more progressive, pausing in the same way on a particular truth, which the circumstances of the world or the Church brought before them.

τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς, which delivereth us.] The Saviour from the wrath that is coming and now is (comp. ii. 16. ; 2 Thess. i. 8.) ; not so near in Rom ii. 5. ; v. 9. ;

more general yet no less certain in Eph. v. 6. ; Col. iii. 6. So, even before the preaching of the Gospel, John the Baptist : "who hath showed you to flee from the wrath to come?" The wrath of God was coming upon the Jewish people and all mankind ; the world was closing in upon them, as life and its hereafter on ourselves.

II. The personal narrative which follows, may be compared with that in the Galatians, i. 11. to ii. 14. Alluding to the spirit in which he preached to them, he glances, for an instant, at the persecution which he had just before endured at Philippi, and which had not deterred him from speaking the truth boldly, though at Thessalonica too the conflict was hot. He had spoken as to God and not to men, without covetousness, or guile, or flattery, or vain glory, or any such thing. He had given up his right to support as an Apostle from the excess of his love to them ; a love, which would fain have made him lay down his life for their sake. They must surely remember how they had seen him toiling day and night to get his own livelihood ; they were the witnesses (and there was a higher witness) of the innocence of his life, and of his gentle and fatherly admonitions to them.

Then changing the person, he

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε, ἀδελφοί, τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς 2
 ὑμᾶς, ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ ¹προπαθόντες καὶ ὑβρι- 2
 σθέντες καθὼς οἶδατε ἐν Φιλίπποις, ἐπαρρήσιασάμεθα ἐν τῷ
 θεῷ ἡμῶν λαλήσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν
 πολλῷ ἀγῶνι. ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης 3

¹ Add καί.

gives thanks to God as at first, for their reception of the Word of God; they had become followers of the Churches in Judea, and stood in the same relation to their own countrymen, as these did to the Jews. The persecutions that they suffered, did but recall the thought of what these latter had done to the Lord Jesus, and to their own prophets; enemies, as they were, of God and man, forbidding to preach to the Gentiles that they might be saved. Their evil was tending to a consummation, and the wrath of God was fulfilled upon them.

In the verses which follow, there appears to be an abrupt transition to the longing desire that the Apostle had to see them, and the efforts that he had made to accomplish this purpose. The 15th and 16th verses are a digression which may be regarded as an outburst of indignation at the Jews. As in conversation we sometimes ask, "What leads another to say that?" so here we can but guess the secret thread of association which carries on the mind of the Apostle from one topic to another. The real connexion in what follows may probably be the persecutions of the Thessalonian Church, just slightly touched upon in verse 14., which quickened the Apostle's desire to see them, and increased his sense

of loneliness in being parted from them. This thread reappears again in the following chapter, iii. 2—9.

1. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε, *for ye yourselves know.*] After narrating what he knew himself, and what others told him, the Apostle goes on to appeal to their own consciousness. As though he said:—"I need not quote other, for you yourselves are my best witnesses." The words οἶδατε and εἴσοδον are a connecting link with verses 5. and 9. of the preceding chapter.

ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν, *that it was not in vain.*] Compare for the form of the sentence, Gal. i. 11.: γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἄνθρωπον. κενὴ refers both to the power of the Apostle's preaching, and to its effect on the mind of the hearers. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 10. 58.; also Gal. ii. 2. In the words that follow the opposition is imperfect; for the effect of the Apostle's preaching—what it was as contrasted with what it was not—is inferred from his boldness.

2. But although we had suffered before, and been injuriously handled at Philippi, as need not to be told you, we were bold in our God, to speak to you the Gospel of Christ, amid much conflict: ἐπαρρήσιασάμεθα λαλήσαι ἐτολμῶμεν μετὰ παρήρησιας λαλή-

2 For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto
 2 you, that it was not in vain: but¹ after that we had
 suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye
 know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak
 3 unto you the gospel of God with much contention. For

¹ Add even.

σαι. Compare Eph. vi. 20.; and for ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, Acts, ix. 28.

ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι, *with much contention.*] Corresponds to προπαθόντες, and alludes to the tumult mentioned in the Acts, xvii. 5., and to the Apostle's feelings in it:—"But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people." The Apostle means to say, that they were not deterred, by persecution at Philippi, from preaching boldly at Thessalonica, though there was persecution too there. For a reference to a similar scene recorded in the Acts, compare 2 Cor. i. 8—10. In both it was an inward struggle as well as an outward one; as in the Epistle he says, though in another spirit, "Without were fightings, within were fears." The word ἀγών is used elsewhere in the New Testament only for a mental or spiritual conflict (comp. Col. ii. 1., ἡλικον ἀγῶνα ἔχω περὶ ὑμῶν). Here it glances also at the outward one.

3. ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ἡμῶν, *for our exhortation.*] "For we had truth to support us, and we spoke as the ministers of God." Or as

the Apostle has expanded the thought: For our exhortation did not arise from erring fancy, nor from impure motives, nor was it uttered in craft. This was the reason why we were bold to preach. Compare a similar train of thought in Rom. i. 15, 16.: οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι.

The two senses of παράκλησις, exhortation and consolation, so easily passing into one another (compare ver. 11.), are suggestive of the external state of the early Church, sorrowing amid the evils of the world, and needing as its first lesson to be comforted, and not less suggestive of the first lesson of the Gospel to the individual soul of peace in believing.

ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας, *of uncleanness.*] May be explained in this place by πλεονεξία (ver. 5.) as elsewhere πλεονεξία by ἀκαθαρσία, Eph. v. 3. It is, however, more probable, that it is used in its original sense, the same sense in which the Apostle says, 2 Cor. vii. 2., οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν.

Many passages in the New Testament lead us to infer, that there existed, in the age of the Apostles, a connexion between the form of spirituality and licentiousness. It is this of which the

οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας οὐδὲ¹ ἐν δόλῳ, ἀλλὰ καθὼς δεδοκιμά- 4
 σμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πιστευθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως
 λαλοῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωποις ἀρέσκοντες, ἀλλὰ [τῷ] θεῷ
 τῷ δοκιμάζοντι τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ 5
 κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε, οὔτε ἐν προφάσει
 πλεονεξίας (θεὸς μάρτυς), οὔτε ζητοῦντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 6
 δόξαν, οὔτε ἀφ' ὑμῶν οὔτε ἀπ' ἄλλων, δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει
 εἶναι ὡς χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, ἀλλ' ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι² ἐν 7

¹ οὔτε.² ἡπιοι.

Apostle declares his innocence, and with which elsewhere he upbraids the false teachers. Compare iv. 7. ; Tit. iii. 8. ; James iii. 13. ; 1 Tim. vi. 3. ; Jude, 4—18. For the construction supply ἦν or ἔστι: it is not clear at what point of the sentence the tense changes.

4. But as God has tried us, and entrusted us with the Gospel, we do not betray our trust, even so we speak not as pleasing men, that is, but the God who trieth us. οὕτως λαλοῦμεν refers both to καθὼς δεδοκιμάσμεθα and to the οὐχ ὡς which follows. The Apostle means to express two things: first, that he spoke as one tried by God and found worthy to be entrusted with the Gospel; and, secondly, that, as God tried him, it was to Him he sought to be accepted, and not to man. Compare for the meaning, 1 Cor. iv. 3. ; Gal. i. 10.: for the expression, 1 Cor. vii. 25., ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι; Rom. i. 28.: and for the use of οὕτως, 1 Thess. ii. 8. δεδοκιμάσμεθα is not simply equivalent to ἡξιώμεθα, but rather to δεδοκιμασμένοι ἡξιώμεθα.

τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, *our hearts.*] Either here, and below, v. 8., the attraction of the plural verb

has led the Apostle to use the plural noun instead of the singular—in other words, he continues the metaphor of the plural; or he silently includes his companions, although what precedes and follows is too individual to refer to any one but himself.

5. οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν, *for neither at any time.*] For the form of the expression, compare 1 Tim. ii. 14., ἡ γυνὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν; 1 Cor. ii. 3., ἐν . . . τρόμῳ ἐγενόμην, and below, v. 7. ; also chap. i. 5., where the preposition means “in the state of.” “We did not,” says the Apostle, “use words such as flattery uses, or pretexts, such as avarice.” That this is the true sense of the genitive is proved by its being the only one applicable to both members of the sentence. The word πρόφασις in the second clause is a slight variation of λόγος the previous one.

6. Why should the Apostle so repeatedly repudiate the imputation that he sought glory of men? He was one of those who instinctively know the impression produced by his character and conduct on the hearts of others. What was the motive of this “vain babbling” would be a com-

our exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor
 4 in guile; but as we were approved* of God to be put in
 trust with the gospel, even so we speak; not as pleasing
 men, but God which proveth* our hearts. For neither
 5 at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a
 cloke of covetousness; God is witness: nor of men
 6 sought we glory, neither of you, nor of others, when we
 might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ.

mon topic of conversation in the cities at which he preached. "To get money, to make himself somebody," would be the ordinary solution. Against this the Apostle protests. His whole life and conversation were a disproof of it. It may have been that he was aware also of something in his manner which might have suggested such a thought. It was not good for him to glory, and yet he sometimes "spake as a fool." Rightly understood this glorying was but an elevation of the soul to God and Christ, or at worst the assertion of himself, in moments of depression or ill-treatment, but to others he might have been conscious that it must have seemed a weakness, and may have been made a ground of imputations from his adversaries.

The words *δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι* have been referred in different senses either to what precedes, or to what follows. In the first case the sense would be, although we might have been oppressive to you with our glorying and claims. But even though the words be thus humoured in the translation, the antithesis is not quite sound. Without wholly losing sight of what has preceded,

ed, it is better to connect them with what follows. The Apostle means to say that he might have oppressed them with Apostolical claims and pretensions. He might have commanded where he entreated; he might have "come to them with a rod," and he came to them "in love, and in the spirit of meekness" (1 Cor. iv. 21.); he might have claimed the right of support from them as an Apostle of Christ, and he waives it for their sake. Compare 1 Cor. ix. It is true that this last point is not referred to until after an interval of two verses, in ver. 9. But nothing is more in the Apostle's manner than to drop a thought and resume it; and the words *ἐν βάρει εἶναι*, repeated in the *ἐπιβαρῆσαι* of v. 9., afford a sufficient indication of what was in his mind. And the existence of the allusion is further confirmed by the use of the same or similar expressions, in reference to the same circumstance of his waiving his right to support. So, *ἐπιβαρεῖν*, 2 Thess. iii. 8.; *καταβαρεῖν*, 2 Cor. xii. 16.: compare *ἄβαρῃ ἐμμαντὸν ὑμῶν ἐτήρησα*, in 2 Cor. xi. 9.

7. But we were not what we might have been while among you, but were gentle, or were

μέσω ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐὰν¹ τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα, οὕτως ὁμειρόμενοι² ὑμῶν εὐδοκοῦμεν μεταδοῦναι ὑμῖν οὐ μόνον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, διότι ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθητε.³ μνημονεύετε γὰρ, ἀδελφοί, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχθον· νυκτὸς⁴ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν, ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς

¹ ἕν.² ἰμειρόμενοι.³ γεγένησθε.⁴ Add γάρ.

children, as a nursing mother with her own children. As in Gal. iv. 19., the Apostle represents himself under the image of a mother, as below, v. 11., and 1 Cor. iv. 15., under that of a father.

Lachmann's reading *νήπιαι* may perhaps have arisen out of the preceding *ἐγενήθημεν*. It is supported, however, by a preponderance of authorities, the confusion which it appears to occasion in the image, being rather in favour of its genuineness than the reverse, as such confusions occur elsewhere. Compare *κλέπτῃς* and *κλέπτας*, v. 2. 4.; *πρόσωπον* and *προσώπων*, in ii. 17. The Apostle would say—"To children I became as a child."

οὕτως is here a particle not of inference, but of comparison, and belongs neither to *ὁμειρόμενοι* nor *εὐδοκοῦμεν*, but to the previous clause—"in this manner," that is, as a nurse cherisheth her own children. *ὁμειρόμενοι* = *ἰμειρόμενοι*, of which, though a very ancient reading existing in all the uncial manuscripts, it is probably a pseudo-form, supported perhaps by an imaginary derivation from *ὁμοῦ* and *εἶρειν*.

εὐδοκοῦμεν is the imperfect, this verb being generally used in

the New Testament (as in Gal. i. 15.; 2 Cor. v. 8., and elsewhere) without the augment, which, however, has been almost invariably inserted in one or more manuscripts.

τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς is by some regarded as a Hebraism for *ἐαυτούς*. It is better referred to the willingness of the Apostle to lay down his own life for them, *μεταδοῦναι* referring, though not with equal propriety, to both the words which follow it. On the plural, see v. 4.

9. γάρ refers to the whole of the previous sentence. The Apostle gives the proof of his consideration for them. *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*, continually.

The question arises in this verse, how the statement of St. Paul's working with his own hands, agrees with the narrative of the Acts, according to which he remained at Thessalonica but three weeks. We cannot meet the difficulty by saying that, though he preached in the synagogue only during three Sabbath days, yet that his stay may have been much longer, because the spirit of the narrative implies that, after a short stay there, the unbelieving Jews drove him forth (Acts, xvii. 1—9.). If we regard the ge-

7 But we were ¹ babes among you, even as a nurse che-
 8 risheth her own* children: so being affectionately de-
 siring of you, we were willing to have imparted unto
 you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls,
 9 because ye were dear unto us. For ye remember,
 brethren, our labour and travail: ²labouring night and

¹ Gentle.

² Add for.

neral character of this portion of the Acts to be inaccurate, we may say that its author was not acquainted with the real circumstances of St. Paul's stay at Thessalonica. If, on the other hand, we consider its minuteness as a guarantee for its accuracy, we may suppose the Apostle to have commenced his intended course of life at Thessalonica, and that it was suddenly interrupted by the stirring up of persecution.

It throws a singular light on the life of St. Paul, which reflects itself in some degree on the early Church, to observe that his labours as a preacher of the Gospel were not the sole business which engaged him, but were added to his daily occupation. Such, at least, we know to have been his custom at Corinth, at Thessalonica, at Ephesus, and probably elsewhere. Of the twelve hours of the day, perhaps not more than one, of the seven days of the week, perhaps only the Sabbath, was devoted to the exercise of his spiritual calling. It is natural to ask, what motive could have led him, a man of station and education, unused to toil, brought up in the school of a Rabbi, at an age when the bodily frame refuses to perform any new office, to submit himself to manual labour? Was

it that he desired to set the example of Christian life, as well as to teach Christian doctrine, to show that there was no opposition between the Gospel and the daily course of the world? Or may it have been to identify himself with the poorer members of his flock? or to provide for their necessities? or as a religious exercise to keep under his body, and bring it into subjection? or to distinguish himself from the strolling soothsayers who wandered over Greece and Asia, "telling some new thing"? or to draw a line between himself and the Judaizing teachers? or from necessity, or, as we should say, to preserve his independence? Whatever higher motives led the Apostle to toil for his bread, the last-mentioned one falls in with that peculiar sensitiveness respecting the charge of receiving money, which is traceable in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, both in reference to himself and Titus receiving support from the Church, as in reference to the collections for the saints. In the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, iii. 4., another motive is also indicated, the desire to set an example to his converts. A third motive, that of charity, is mentioned in the discourse to the elders of the Church of Ephesus. (Acts, xx. 34.)

ὕμᾱς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες καὶ ὁ θεός, 10
ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν
ἐγενήθημεν, καθάπερ οἴδατε, ὡς ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ὡς 11
πατὴρ τέκνα ἑαυτοῦ παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ παραμυθού-
μενοι καὶ μαρτυροῦμενοι εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν¹ ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ 12
θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ
δόξαν.

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδια- 13
λείπτως, ὅτι παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἔστιν
ἀληθῶς λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύ-

¹ περιπατεῖσαι.

10. ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως, not how religiously towards God and justly towards men, but how holily and righteously. Like our word "righteousness," δικαίως implies not only a moral or legal, but a religious idea. ἀμέμπως, innocently, so that no one had aught to say against us. ἐγενήθημεν is not a mere verb of existence, it expresses a state which the adverbs further define: "we came, behaved, were unto you." Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 10. ἵνα ἀρίστος γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

τοῖς πιστεύουσιν is without emphasis. It would be absurd to suppose that the Apostle means to say that he was not thus irreproachable to unbelievers, and an over-refinement to maintain that he specially commends himself to the judgment of believers as such. Yet the introduction of the pointless word may have arisen from the desire to reciprocate, that is, to speak in praise of them as well as of himself.

The dative is governed by

the verb and adverbs together; δίκαιοι ὑμῖν — ἐγενήθημεν ὑμῖν; whether it has the sense of "to" (dat. com.), or "in the opinion of," is not quite certain. The first is favoured by the words which follow, which speak not of what the Thessalonians thought of the Apostle, but of what he did for them; also by the appeal ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες which precedes. The second is the more idiomatic construction. The English version here, as in many other places, allowably avoids the doubt by an ambiguous word, "among."

11. is an expansion of the preceding. From the general the Apostle passes on to the particular. As if he had said — "I appeal to you individually for the truth of this." — "Each one I consoled and comforted as though I had been a father with his children." Compare περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, i. 2.

For the construction of this and the succeeding verse, we must supply ἐγενήθημεν, which may be

day, because we would not be burdensome* unto any of
 10 you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye are
 witnesses, and God also, how holily and righteously* and
 unblameably we behaved* among you that believe:
 11 as ye know how we exhorted and comforted and
 12 charged every one of you, as a father doth his children,
 that ye would walk worthy of God, who calleth* you
 unto his kingdom and glory.

13 And for this cause we* also thank God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually

equally connected with the conjunction, or with the participle. Or the second *ὡς* may be regarded as arising out of the *ὡς* in v. 10., which has been repeated from the fear of weakening the emphasis of the sentence.

ἕνα ἕκαστον.] The double accusative cannot be explained by apposition; the instances Col. ii. 13., Eph. ii. 1. 5., quoted in support of this, are not in point. Better to say with Erasmus, that it is “*balbuties Apostolicæ charitatis, quæ se verbis humanis seu temulenta non explicat.*”

τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος.] Here, as elsewhere, the “calling” is ascribed, not to Christ, but to God. The beginning of the work of salvation is his attribute. The present participle with the article is used for the substantive, and has no notion of time any more than in Gal. v. 8.

δόξαν.] Compare Romans iii. 23., v. 2.

13. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, *and for this cause.*] And because of all this, because God thus enabled us to preach to you, we give him thanks without ceasing. The

clause which follows is a further explanation of why the Apostle was thankful, *διὰ τοῦτο* referring to the verses both before and after. What had been at first the ground, now becomes the subject matter of thankfulness. It is true that it would be tautology to say:—“Because I preached to you with success, I give thanks because ye received my preaching.” But a very slight change of phrase, or difference in point of view, is sufficient to expand the second *ὅτι* into a new reason. There are, in fact, two grounds of thankfulness, although so closely connected together as to be inseparable,—First, his success in preaching; secondly, their reception of it in the true conviction that it was the word of God. For the “double face” of *διὰ τοῦτο* and similar expressions, compare 2 Cor. xiii. 10.; Rom. iv. 16.

λόγον Θεοῦ.] As the Divine word: not the word which tells of God, but the word of which God is the author.

ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται.] Which proves itself by its operation in you who believe it.

ουσιν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλη- 14
 σιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
 ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ¹ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν,
 καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον 15
 ἀποκτεινάντων Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς² προφήτας, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκ-
 διωξάντων, καὶ θεῷ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 ἐναντίων, κωλόντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλήσαι ἵνα 16

¹ ταῦτά.² Add ἰδίους.

14. The object of the parallel which follows, is not to meet the objection that might be made against the Gospel, that the Jews who were its natural adherents, rejected it, still less to warn the Thessalonians against Judaizing teachers. It was a thought that arose naturally in the Apostle's mind as he recollected the persecutions which the Thessalonians had endured at the hand of the heathen rulers, as the Church of Jerusalem from the Jews. Reduced to its simplest form, the train of ideas is:—"The word of God showed its power in you, for it enabled you to endure persecution." But this latter clause is expanded by the Apostle into:—"For ye, brethren, followed the example of the Churches in Judea (such, at least, was the result), for ye have suffered from your countrymen, what they have from theirs."

15. Who, as they persecuted you, also slew the Lord Jesus, and the prophets; and going on in the same course, persecuted us, and are the enemies of God and man. Compare the words of the Apostle at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 27.: "For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him

not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him."

τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, *the Lord Jesus.*] Him whom they were bound to serve. The word κύριος seems to be added, partly to express the reverential feeling of the Apostle, partly also to heighten their guilt.

τοὺς προφήτας.] Compare, for a similar feeling, St. Stephen's words, Acts, vii. 52.; and our Lord's, Matt. xxiii. 31. 37.

The digression is remarkable; the Apostle "goes off" upon the word Jews, it would seem at first sight, inappropriately, for it was not the Jews who had persecuted the Thessalonians. Some have supposed that the fact of the Thessalonian persecution having been stirred up by Jews, as recorded in the Acts, was present to his mind, and that this roused the outburst which follows. Yet there is a strangeness in the Apostle speaking of "their own countrymen" when he is thinking of the Jews. It is safer to seek the motive of the digression in the general statement of the passage itself, "forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved."

- 14 worketh also in you that believe. For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judæa are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of
 15 the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jesus, and the prophets¹, have persecuted us; and they please not
 16 God, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill

¹ Their own prophets.

Wherever the Apostle had gone on his second journey, he had been persecuted by the Jews; and the longer he travelled about among Gentile cities, the more he must have been sensible of the feeling with which his countrymen were regarded. Isolated as they were from the rest of the world in every city, a people within a people, it was impossible that they should not be united for their own self-defence, and regarded with suspicion by the rest of mankind. But their inner nature was not less repugnant to the nobler, as well as the baser feelings of Greece and Rome. Their fierce nationality had outlived itself; though worshippers of the true God, they knew him not to be the God of all nations of the earth; hated and despised by others, they could but cherish in return an impotent contempt and hatred of other men. What wonder that, for an instant, the Apostle should have felt that this Gentile feeling was not wholly groundless? or that he should use words which recall the expression of Tacitus: "Adversus omnes alios hostile odium"?—Hist. v. 5.

For the feelings which the

Apostle entertained towards his countrymen at a later period, compare Rom. x. 1.:—"Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved." Yet, both states of mind may have existed together; the one on the surface, called forth by passing events; the other in his "heart of hearts," deep and silent.

16. It has been urged that *καὶ* *ὄντων*, having no copulative conjunction, must be connected with *ἐναντίων*, which mode of taking the words is supposed to soften the language of St. Paul towards his countrymen, by confining it to those who had opposed the Gospel; "the enemies of God and man—in that they hinder us," &c. Such a mode of construction destroys the balance of the clauses, and is ill suited to the impassioned style of the passage. As in the expression of Tacitus, the first words are general and not limited by the particular case of their hindrance to the Apostle's mission. What follows is an afterthought, in which the motive of the Apostle drops out, and which could not be connected by a conjunction because it is not precisely parallel

σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάντοτε. ἔφθακεν¹ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος.

Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ὑμῶν πρὸς 17
καιρὸν ὥρας προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ, περισσοτέρως ἐσπου-
δάσαμεν τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ,

¹ ἔφθασεν.

with the preceding. The agreement of the words with the description in the Acts of the usual course of persecution, is the more remarkable from the apparent disagreement in this particular instance.

16. It has been maintained that this verse must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem. (See Introductory Essay, on the Genuineness of the Epistle.) Had it been so, it is probable that allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem would have appeared elsewhere in the Epistle, and that this very passage would have spoken more plainly. In all ages, without the gift of prophesy, men have been prone to read the signs of evil in the world. There was enough in the outward state of the Jewish people, as we read the narrative of it in Josephus, or in the impenitency and obstinacy of the Jewish nature, as it revealed itself to the Apostle from within, to be the shadow of events to come. Yet the language of the Apostle seems to indicate, not that they were actually suffering or to suffer punishment, but only that they had reached their final point of reprobation from whence there is no more a way back.

εἰς τὸ expresses, not the object, but the object and the result blended together in one; the

natural event, as the Apostle regards it, in the order of Providence.

ἀναπληρῶσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, *to fill up their sins.*] Compare Genesis, xv. 16.:—"For the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." In the beginning of sin and evil it seems as if men were free agents, and had the power of going on or of retreating. But as the crisis of their fate approaches, they are bound under a curse; and the form in which their destiny presents itself to our minds, is as though it were certain, and only a question of time how soon it is to be fulfilled. We look at them from without, and watch the double necessity in themselves, and in the course of events which is meeting in one; or sometimes the ordinary events of life seem to become to them only occasion and material of evil. The same abstract truth finds a deeper and more religious expression in the Old and New Testament, as in this passage St. Paul thinks of the Jews as hardened in their impenitence; the cup was filling, their opposition to the Gospel was the drop which made it run over. πάντοτε, before Christ, at the time of Christ, after Christ.

ἔφθακεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργή.] *ἡ ὀργή*, either the long-expected wrath, or the wrath consequent upon their sins; compare Rom. i.

up their sins alway. But * the wrath has¹ come upon them to the uttermost.

- 17 BUT we, brethren, being bereaved * in being taken from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, were the more abundantly * earnest to see your face with

¹ Is.

18.; v. 9.; ἐφθακεν, has come upon, or reached them, without the classical sense of anticipation, as elsewhere in the New Testament, and everywhere in modern Greek. Here, as in 1 Cor. ix. 15., the MSS. waver between the aorist and perfect. If the aorist is to be strictly construed, the Apostle must be conceived as looking upon the punishment of the Jews to be already an historical event. As in some other passages, the aorist appears to be put for the perfect, but really maintains its own signification of a point of time. δὲ marks the opposition of the punishment and offence. "But for all this," &c.

εἰς τέλος, either "continually," so as never to cease, or "utterly," so as finally to make an end. Compare Job, xx. 7.; Jos. viii. 24.

17. The spiritual interest of the Apostle about his converts, is never for a moment separate from his human tender love for them. Whether the circumstances of the Church and the world admit of our drawing such a distinction now or not, it was unknown to those times when the believers were a family of love. The feeling of the Apostle was not a general concern for the Churches which he had to govern, but a private personal love for each one. And

his not weakened by absence, or changing as he moved from place to place; but mindful at Corinth of those who are at Thessalonica and Rome; at Rome, of those in Asia.]

ἡμεῖς δέ, *but we,*] is a resumption, after a pause, of verse 13.

ἀπορφανισθέντες] has the meaning both of bereavement and separation from. The preposition is repeated according to the tendency of Hellenistic Greek, perhaps with some additional emphasis; cf. Acts xxi. 1.

πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας.] For a brief moment, for the time of an hour.

προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ, *in presence, not in heart.*] "It was hardly a separation — one of faces, not of hearts; but this was the reason why," &c. προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ may be regarded as a correction of ἀπορφανισθέντες.

περισσότερως ἐσπουδάσαμεν, *were the more earnest.*] With καιρὸν ὥρας, in reference to the very shortness of his absence from them; "almost immediately," he would say, "we felt the want of you, we were so much the more desirous to see your face, as we were not yet used to miss you."

τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν] instead of ὑμᾶς, in allusion to προσώπῳ, which precedes: — "We wanted to see you face to face, which is the only way in which we were separated from you."

διότι ¹ ἡθελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ 18
 ἄπαξ καὶ δῖς, καὶ ἐνέκοιψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν 19
 ἐλπίς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος καυχήσεως, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς,
 ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ² ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ; 20
 ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά. διὸ μηκέτι 3
 στέγοντες εὐδοκήσαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι,

¹ διό.² Add χριστοῦ.

18. διότι. Because of which great desire we were minded to come to you.

ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος] is emphatic, ἐγὼ μὲν being added with Παῦλος to draw attention to himself, not necessarily to distinguish his earnest wish from that of Timothy and Silas, who might be supposed to be joined with him in ἡθελήσαμεν. The idiom did not admit ἡμεῖς μὲν Παῦλος. Compare 2 Cor. x. 1.; also Eph. iii. 1. καὶ is adversative as in English, "I wanted to come, and he would not let me." It is not, however, put for δέ; the opposition is inferred, not expressed. Compare Rom. i. 13.

ὁ σατανᾶς.] It is not certain what the Apostle means by these words; perhaps some obstruction, which seemed to be thrown in his way in preaching the Gospel, such as the persecution of the Jews of Thessalonica. More probably, however, he refers to some inward impediment, analogous to that which he experienced when "they assayed to preach the word in Asia; howbeit, the Spirit suffered them not." — Acts, xvi. We have no other means of judging what was the nature of the hindrance, but from the probable meaning of an expression which is in itself uncertain.

19. For you are our hope and joy and crown of glory in the day

of judgment. As he says elsewhere: — "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" or, in other words, who feels, and I do not feel with him?—so in this passage, their hope is his hope, their joy is his joy; they are his crown of glory at the last day. He does not mean that he is to be rewarded for converting them; it is a higher thought than this which fills the Apostle's soul. Remembering that hour on which his mind is dwelling, he transfers them to it, and is rapt in his love of them. Compare, for the time, note on Rom. ii. 16.; for a similar use of a figure, 2 Cor. iii. 2., "Ye are our Epistle;" and for the general meaning, 2 Tim. iv. 8. "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day;" and, as the Apostle characteristically adds, "not to me only, but to all that love his appearing."

ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου.] He thinks of them as of all other men, as before the Lord, in the face of Christ; and thinking of Christ, he looks forward to His appearing as already present. Compare note, Romans, ii. 16.

20. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά.] Yes, he repeats with earnestness, for ye are our glory and our joy.

The first verses of the third chapter are connected with the

18 great desire. Wherefore we would have come unto
 you, even I Paul, once and again; but Satan hindered
 19 us. For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing?
 20 Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ
 3 at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy. Where-
 fore when we could no longer contain*, we thought it

seventeenth verse of the preceding; as elsewhere (compare v. 13. of the second chapter) in the writings of St. Paul, the connecting particle refers to the whole previous subject, and serves to recall the reader's mind from a partial digression. Even little things have an interest for those whom we love, and accordingly the Apostle dwells minutely on the circumstance of his affection for them. He could no longer contain himself, and therefore sent Timotheus to inquire about their faith (the pleonasm of the expressions, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ — στηρίξαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, may be remarked as bearing a trace of the style of St. Paul). They were in persecution; but that, they knew themselves, was their appointed lot; he had told them of it, and they had the witness of it in themselves. Then resuming and carrying on the thought of v. 1. :—“Therefore he had sent Timothy,” to know whether they were firm, or whether they had fallen before the tempter. And now Timothy had brought him the good news of their faith and love, and of their feelings to him, which are the very reflection of his to them, he is full of comfort, and seems to receive a new life in his own trials, at the thought of their constancy. How can he thank God enough for the joy

which he feels for them in the presence of God, which mingles still with the never ceasing longing to see their face and confirm their faith? And then, separating his wish into two parts, he trusts that God may guide his feet towards them; and that whether this is accomplished for him or not, he may make them feel the same love to one another and towards all men, that he does for them, and stablish their hearts before him in that which is coming and now is, the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Compare the return of Titus, in 2 Cor. ii. 13.; the desire to see the Romans, in i. 10.; the sending of Tychicus, in Ephes. vi. 21.; the coming of Epaphroditus, in Philipp. iv. 18.

III. διὰ refers to the general sense of the preceding verses. Wherefore, i. e. from our great affection for you.

μηκέτι.] The μὴ may be explained as giving a subjective turn to the meaning: “Wherefore, feeling that we could,” or “as those who could no longer.”

στέγοντες, containing.] στέγειν means to cover; hence it acquires the two senses of holding in and out, both of which enter into its metaphorical use. The present participle has the force of the imperfect, as elsewhere.

καταλειφθῆναι, κ. τ. λ., to be left, &c.] It may be remarked, that

καὶ ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν¹ καὶ συνεργὸν ²
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι
 ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλέσαι² ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τὸ³ μηδένα ³
 σαίνεισθαι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε
 ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦμεν, ⁴
 προελέγομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι μέλλομεν θλίβεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ
 ἐγένετο καὶ οἶδατε. διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ μηκέτι στέγων ἐπεμψα ⁵
 εἰς τὸ γινῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν, μή πως ἐπείρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ

¹ καὶ διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν.

² περί.

³ τῷ.

these words half agree with the Acts, and half with the Epistle. For they imply that the Apostle was left without companions, and yet there is no mention of his sending away Silas, who was with him at the time of his writing the Epistle, but only Timothy.

Admitting the genuineness of the Epistle, and the confirmation afforded by it to many of the statements of the Acts, we are naturally led to speculate by what arrangement of events the error may be made smallest.

Suppose Silas only to have been left in Macedonia, with a charge to join Paul shortly; Paul, impatient to hear of his new converts, sends Timothy from Athens, who returns with Silas. The only incorrectness then in the narrative of the Acts arises from the ignorance of the writer, that Timothy was not left behind. The account of the Epistle, that Paul *was* left alone at Athens, although he only sent away Timothy and although Silas and Timothy were with him shortly afterwards, as well as the tone of the Acts, respecting Paul's eagerness that Silas and Timothy should follow him, agrees with this hypothesis. See the fuller discussion of the question

in note on Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

2. *συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, fellow-worker.*] Not the fellow-worker with us in the service of God, but the fellow-worker with God. Compare 1 Cor. iii. 9. *θεοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί.* As in other places the Apostle introduces his "true yoke-fellows" with titles of honour; not, however, as some of the Fathers imagine, to express the extent of the sacrifice he is making for their good, in sending away so valued a helpmate as Timothy.

ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.] In preaching the Gospel.

εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι.] That he may strengthen you.

παρακαλέσαι.] Either to comfort, or exhort. In this passage the latter meaning seems to agree better with ver. 3.

ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν.] *ὑπὲρ* in this and similar passages means "about." Yet not excluding also the secondary sense of "interest in a thing or person." Compare 2 Thess. ii. 1., one of the few places in which the doubtful *ὑπὲρ* has not been corrected into *περί*.

3. *τὸ μηδένα σαίνεισθαι.*] The MSS. are almost equally divided between *τὸ* and *τῷ*: the first we may explain as the remoter ob-

2 good to be left at Athens alone; and sent Timotheus, our brother, and fellow-worker with God¹, in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you 3 concerning your faith, that no man should be moved by these tribulations*; for yourselves know that we are 4 appointed thereunto, for verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know. For this 5 cause, when I could no longer forbear, I also sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have

¹ Minister of God, and our fellow-labourer.

ject, either of ἐπέμψαμεν or of παρακαλέσαι, “we sent him to comfort you; we sent him touching your not being moved by persecutions;” or, “we sent him to comfort you about your faith, touching,” &c. The second has been regarded as a Greek translation of the Hebrew dative; better, if explainable at all, as a confusion of the reason with the object; “by reason of,” i.e. “with the view that.” σάινεσθαι, though connected with σείεσθαι, not simply, moved, but rather moved to softness. Compare Soph. Ant. 1214., παιδός με σάινει φθόγγος.

ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν ταύταις,] i. e. the persecutions which they and the Apostle alike endured, of which he speaks to them as though they were present with him.

αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε.] Not merely because the Apostle had foretold it, as he says in the following verse, but because all Christians must have felt the state of persecution natural to them. γὰρ supplies the reason why they ought not to faint; viz., that persecution was not a thing unexpected, but the very appointment of God respecting them.

εἰς τοῦτο refers to θλίψεσιν.] For a similar lax relation of the same word, compare Rom. xiii. 6.

4. “For we told you beforehand, not of any particular trouble, but that we *are* to be persecuted, as has come to pass, and ye know of your own experience.” The plural μέλλομεν identifies the Apostle and his converts with believers everywhere.

5. For this special reason (in addition to the general love and regard I bear for you), feeling that I could no longer contain myself, I sent to know your faith, lest by any means, in time of persecution, the tempter should have tempted you, and, as a consequence, our labour should have been in vain. As though the Apostle had said:—“And this made me anxious to know about you, and I could endure the suspense no longer, so I sent.” καὶ γὰρ, I also on my part; in contradistinction to the Thessalonians, of whom he had been speaking in the previous clause. Compare καὶ ἡμεῖς, ii. 13. μή πως is connected with γινῶναι, and implies an expansion of the preceding

πειράζων καὶ εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν. ἄρτι δὲ 6
 ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ εὐαγγελισα-
 μένου ἡμῖν τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἔχετε 7
 μνείαν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὴν πάντοτε ἐπιποθοῦντες ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν
 καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήθημεν, ἀδελφοί, 7
 ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ θλίψει¹ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς
 ὑμῶν πίστεως, ὅτι νῦν ζῶμεν ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκητε ἐν κυρίῳ. 8
 τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ 9
 ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ ἡχαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς ἔμπροσθεν
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεό- 10
 μενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ 11
 ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν; αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ

¹ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ.

thought; "to know your faith, whether it might have been that—"

ὁ πειράζων, *the tempter*.] As in 1 Cor. vii. 5.: μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. Compare Matt. iv. 3. The tempter, as of Christ, so of his followers.

6. ἄρτι δέ, *but now*,] is to be taken with διὰ τοῦτο παρεκλήθημεν in the next verse. "We were anxious about you, and sent Timotheus; but now that Timotheus is returned, and we have good news, we are comforted."

Timotheus came to us and brought good news of your faith and love, and of your remembrance of us, and your having a desire to see us, even as we have to see you.

ἀγαθὴν μνείαν, *a good remembrance*.] As with ἔλπις, συνείδησις, ἡμέρα. As in the Apostle's view of the relation of the believer to Christ, the great work of salvation is the identity of one with the other, so in the relation of believers to each other, they be-

come one, having the same feelings without distinction of absence or presence; they rejoice, sorrow, are comforted, persecuted, triumph with each other. Philosophers have sometimes tried to resolve our moral nature into sympathy; far more nearly true is this of our Christian feelings, which are not so much the exertion of one man's good will towards another, as the communication to many of one spirit.

7. διὰ τοῦτο] takes up the sentence after the long participial clauses. For this good news.

ἄρτι παρεκλήθημεν, now we are comforted. Implying that the Epistle was written immediately after the return of Timothy. The Apostle, though speaking now of what was almost present to himself, still uses the historical tense; possibly, like ἔγραψα in 1 Cor. v. 9., and elsewhere, in reference to the time at which the Thessalonians would receive his letter—as in Latin.

6 tempted you, and our labour been in vain. But now
 when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought
 us good tidings of your faith and love*, and that ye have
 good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see
 7 us, as we also to see you: therefore, brethren, we were
 comforted in* you, in all our affliction and distress by
 8 your faith: for now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.
 9 For what thanks can we render to God again for you,
 for all the joy wherewith we joy for your sakes before
 10 our God; night and day praying exceedingly that we
 might see your face, and might perfect that which is
 11 lacking in your faith? Now our God and Father

ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ θλίψει
 ἡμῶν.] In ver. 3. the Apostle spoke
 of a tribulation, which he had in
 common with the Thessalonians.
 That was not taken away, but
 only alleviated by the news of
 Timothy. To this he is here
 alluding, and not to his anxiety
 respecting the Thessalonians.

The second ἐπὶ is taken in the
 same sense as the first, "I was
 comforted over you." This com-
 fort which he drew from them is
 then passed on to a further object,
 "I was comforted in you, in all
 my affliction;" as a further elu-
 cidation are added the words
 "through your faith." Compare
 2 Cor. vii. 7. and 13.

8. ὅτι νῦν ζῶμεν, *for now we
 live.*] The Apostle regards his
 affliction as a sort of death, from
 which he is roused to life by the
 news of his converts. Compare
 2 Cor. i. 8—10., and Gal. ii. 20.,
 for a similar figure.

νῦν refers to the change of
 feeling occasioned by the arrival
 of Timothy. When he thought
 of the persecutions that sur-
 rounded him, and the possibility
 of their falling off from the faith,

he was as one "having the sen-
 tence of death in himself:" but
 now in their life he lives.

9. γάρ.] For we thank God
 that you do stand, γὰρ express-
 ing the reason of what has gone
 before. This the Apostle implies
 in the question, "For how can
 we thank God for you all, for
 all the joy with which we joy
 on your account in the presence
 of our God?"

10. δεόμενοι] is not to be joined
 with χαίρομεν, but arises out of
 the idea of his love for them, ex-
 pressed in the preceding verse.
 The Apostle lives in his converts,
 he rejoices in their joy, he ex-
 ults before God to think of them.
 Only with this mingles the hu-
 man feeling of a desire to see
 them again.

ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ.] Not as a work
 of supererogation, but only ex-
 ceedingly.

καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα.] To
 fill up what is wanting. Com-
 pare Rom. i. 11., and for the ex-
 pression, Col. i. 24. Nothing can
 be inferred from this, either
 one way or the other, on the
 duration of the Thessalonian

ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς κατευθύνει τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι 12
 τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς
 εἰς ὑμᾶς, εἰς τὸ στηρίζαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν 13

community. The Apostle may or may not be referring to those special deficiencies of the Thessalonian Church which he has elsewhere indicated, their error about the dead, or their disorder.

αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεός, *now God Himself.*] May God himself guide me to you! αὐτὸς is said in opposition to the Apostle's going there of himself, and the hindrances of Satan, which he had spoken of before. The thought of the Apostle rises naturally to God, who can do all things; who, though he now seems cut off from them, can guide his way to them.

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, *our Lord Jesus.*] Christ as well as God works in directing the footsteps of his ministers. Compare Rom. xv. 18.

12. But whether he grant me this request or not, may he make you to abound and increase in love. The Apostle has availed himself, however, of the transitive as well as intransitive sense of the two verbs, to give the thought another turn. "But may the Lord make you to abound and exceed in love to one another, and towards all, even as we do abound and exceed in love to you."

ὁ κύριος.] Whether God or Christ is uncertain; perhaps both are included. Compare Rom. viii. 9—11., where the Spirit of Christ, Christ Himself and the Spirit of Him that raised

up Christ from the dead, occur in successive verses as different expressions of the same power working in the heart of man.

εἰς ἀλλήλους.] To one another your brother members of the Church.

εἰς πάντας.] To mankind in general.

13. εἰς τὸ στηρίζαι] may be either taken as the end of what preceded, "May the Lord fulfil you with love to one another, to the end that he may establish you in holiness," with which can be compared such passages as "love is the fulfilling of the law;" or the idea of an object contained in εἰς τὸ στηρίζαι may belong to the form rather than to the meaning of the sentence. In other words, the Apostle might have said, "May the Lord make you to abound in grace, make you to establish your hearts;" or, with much the same sense, "May God make you to abound in grace, so as to establish your hearts."

ἀμέμπτους] is best taken with ἐν ἀγιοσύνῃ, an allusion to which latter word is contained in μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

To what extent did the first Christians suffer persecution? Much has been said of the tolerant spirit of the Roman government inclined to let all religions sleep peacefully under the shadow of its wings. But it is one thing to tolerate existing religions, another to sanction a new one, and that too not seeking to insinuate itself privately, but openly pro-

himself, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way
12 unto you. And the Lord make you to increase and
abound in love one toward another, and toward all men,
13 even as we do toward you: to the end he may stablish

fessing as its object the conversion of the world. Probably there has never been a civilised country in which such an attempt at proselytism would not have been at first met by persecution. Every page of the Acts of the Apostles is a picture of similar persecutions. St. Paul's own account of his former life (Acts, xxvi. 11. 12.), as well as the words of Ananias in Acts, ix. 13., lead us to infer that he was himself the agent of a systematic persecution in several cities, in which many persons were put to death. And more remarkable than any part of the Acts is the narrative which the Apostle "born out of due time" gives us of his own sufferings (2 Cor. xi. 23—33.), and which, amid many other reflections, suggests the thought, how small a part of his life has been preserved to us.

From the state of Christianity in the time of Pliny or Tacitus, we can scarcely form an idea of its first difficulties. Everywhere it had to encounter the fierce spirit of fanaticism, wrought up in the Jew to its highest pitch, in the pagan just needing to be awakened. The Jews, the false brethren, the heretics, the heathen, were in league more or less openly, at one time or other, for its destruction. All ages which have witnessed a revival of religious feeling, have witnessed also the outbreak of religious passions; the pure light of the one becomes the spark by which the other is

kindled. Reasons of state sometimes create a faint and distant suspicion of a new faith; the feelings of the mass rise to overwhelm it.

The Roman government may be said to have observed in general the same line respecting the first preachers of the Gospel, as would be observed in modern times; that is to say, of matters of faith and opinion, as such, they hardly took account, except in so far as they endangered the safety of the government, or led to breaches of the public peace. It seemed idle to them to dispute about questions of the Jewish law in Roman courts of justice; but they were not the less prepared to call to account those by whose supposed agency a whole city was in an uproar. Hence, when the really peaceable character of the Gospel was seen, the persecutions gradually ceased and revived only at a later period, when Christianity itself became a political power.

Allowing for the difference of times and seasons, the feelings of the Roman governors were not altogether unlike those with which the followers of John Wesley, in the last century, might have been regarded by the magistrates of an English town. And making still greater allowance for the malignity and depth of the passions by which men were agitated as the old religions were breaking up, a parallel not less just might be drawn also between

ἀγιωσύνη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ¹ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ. [ἀμήν.]

¹ Add *χριστοῦ*.

the feelings of the multitude. There was in both cases a kind of sympathy by which the lower class were attracted towards the new teachers. Natural feeling suggested that these men had come for their good; they were grateful for the love shown of them, and for the ministration to their temporal wants. There was a time when it was said of the first believers, that they were in favour with all the people (Acts, ii. 47.), and that "all men glorified God for that which was done" (iv. 21.). But at the preaching of Stephen the scene changes; the deep irreconcilable hostility of the two principles is beginning to be felt; "it is not peace, but a sword;" not "I am come to fulfil the law," but "not one stone shall be left upon another."

The moment this was clearly perceived, not only would the far-sighted jealousy of chief priests and rulers be alarmed at the preaching of the Apostles; but the very instincts of the multitude itself would rise at them. More than anything that we have witnessed in modern times of religious intolerance, would be the feeling against those who sought to relax the bond of circumcision as enemies to their country, their religion, and their God. But there was another aspect of the new religion, which served to bring home these feelings even yet more nearly. It was the disruption of the family. As our Lord foretold, the father was against the son,

the son against the father, the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. A new power had arisen in the world, which seemed to cut across and dis sever natural affections (Matt. x. 34.). Consider what is implied in the words "of believing women not a few;" what animosities of parents, and brethren, and husbands! what hatreds, and fears, and jealousies! An unknown tie, closer than that of kindred, drew away the individuals of a family, and joined them to an external society. It was not only that they were members of another Church, or attendants on a separate worship. The difference went beyond this. In the daily intercourse of life, at every meal, the unbelieving brother or sister was conscious of the presence of the unclean. It was an injury not readily to be forgotten, or forgiven its authors, the greatest, perhaps, which could be offered in this world. The fanatic priest, led on by every personal and religious motive—the man of the world, caring for none of those things, but not the less resenting the intrusion on the peace of his home—the craftsman, fearing for his gains—the accursed multitude, knowing not the law, but irritated at the very notion of this mysterious society of such real though hidden strength—would all work together towards the overthrow of those who seemed to them to

your hearts unblameable in holiness before¹ our God and Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.

¹ God, our Father.

be turning upside down the political, religious, and social order of the world. The utterance of this instinct of dislike, is heard in the words, "These men being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans." Acts, xvi. 20, 21. (Compare, to complete the picture, the description in the previous verses of the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, who cried after Paul many days, "These men are the servants of the most High God.")

These considerations, though based only on general principles of human nature, are necessary to make us understand the undercurrent of the Apostolical history, as well as to form a just estimate of the question which we are considering. The actual persecution of the Roman government was slight, but what may be termed the social persecution and the illegal violence employed towards the first disciples unceasing. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one;" who would know or care what went on in the Jewish quarter of a great city? How precarious must have been their fate who, with the passions of men arrayed against them, had no protection from the law! They were liable to be persecuted by the Jews, to suffer persecution as Jews, to arm the feelings of all nations against themselves as the professors of

an unnational religion. Little reflection is necessary to fill up the details of that image of peril, which the Apostle presents to us in all his Epistles. It is the same vision which is again held up to us in the Book of the Revelation, of the common tribulation of St. John and the Churches, of the sufferings that were to come upon the Church of Smyrna, of the faithfulness of Pergamos in the days when the martyr Antipas was slain, of the two witnesses, and of the souls beneath the altar, saying "How long?" It is the same which reappears in the earliest ecclesiastical history, in the narrative of Hegeppus respecting James the Just. It is the state of life described in the Epistle to the Hebrews of those who "had not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin" (xii. 4.), whose leaders seem to have already suffered (xiii. 7. 23.). Except on some accidental occasion, such as the Neronian persecution, there is no reason to suppose that the power of Rome was systematically employed against the first disciples of the Apostles. But it does not diminish their sufferings, that they were the result of illegal violence, such as the tumults at Thessalonica, at Ephesus, or at Jerusalem.

Ch. IV. The lesson which the Apostle has to teach the Thessalonians does not admit of any great variety of statement or particularity of detail. It is a lesson

Λοιπὸν¹ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ⁴
 ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα² καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ
 πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ, καθὼς καὶ
 περιπατεῖτε³, ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον. οἴδατε γὰρ τίνας ²
 παραγγελίας ἐδώκαμεν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. τοῦτο ³
 γάρ ἐστιν [τὸ] θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἁγιασμός ὑμῶν,
 ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας, εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ⁴

¹ τὸ λοιπόν.² Omit ἵνα.³ Omit καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε.

which they have heard before, which they are now practising, and need only to practise more and more, which is summed up in one word—their sanctification; that is to say, first, they are to abstain from fornication; and as a remedy for fornication, every man is to have his own wife. In purity of life they are to be unlike the Gentiles, not to defraud, or invade their brother's right; for of all such offences the Lord is the avenger. God, who called them, called them not to lasciviousness, but to holiness. And, therefore, he who despises this precept, is a despiser, not of man, but of God who sanctifies us by his Holy Spirit; a violator, not of moral duties only, but of the first principle of Christian life.

“But respecting another part of Christian duty, love of the brethren, ye need not that I write to you. For ye yourselves have learned, not of me, but of God, to love one another. For ye not only know, but practise it to all the brethren that are in all Macedonia. But though you need not my urging, yet I beg of you to do it more and more, and (once more to repeat a former exhortation) to live in peace, and do your own business, that so ye may

set a fair example to the heathen, and be lacking in no spiritual grace.

“But as to those who have been taken from among you, do not let the thought of them be a source of disorder in your lives. In this too I would not have you to be like the heathen, who are without hope. For to us the remembrance of the dead is bound up with the thought of Christ; and as we believe that He died and rose again, so those that are asleep in Christ will God bring with him. For hear the exposition of the whole matter as Christ has revealed it; we who survive at that day, will be after, rather than before the dead. For the Lord will Himself descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the archangel and the trump of God. And first the dead in Christ will rise to be gathered to Him, and then we the living shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. And so shall we be ever with Him.”

1. The MSS. vary between *λοιπὸν* and *τὸ λοιπόν*, “furthermore,” and “for what remains:” either marks a transition, more or less emphatic, from the personal to the hortatory portion of the Epistle. *οὖν* connects the verse with the preceding mention of the

4 FURTHERMORE then we beseech you, brethren,
and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye received
of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, even as
2 ye do walk¹, that ye would abound more and more. For
ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord
3 Jesus. For this is the will of God, your sanctifica-
4 tion, that ye should abstain from fornication : that every
one of you should know how to get * himself his own

¹ *Omit even as ye do walk.*

appearance of Christ, “seeing then these things, we exhort you,” &c.

ἐρωτῶμεν,] which in classical Greek means only to ask questions, has here the signification of request, entreat, as in Acts, x. 48. and elsewhere.

ἐν κυρίῳ.] Compare the note at i. 2. on this and similar expressions. St. Paul exhorts and prays them, as he does everything, in their common Lord in whom he and they are united in one spirit. “We beseech you that, as ye have received from us, how ye ought to walk and please God, or by what manner of walk ye should please God, as ye do walk, so ye would do more and more.”

καὶ ἀρέσκειν.] Although it is incorrect to say that καὶ is like the Hebrew ו taken for *ut*, yet the two ideas, περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν Θεῷ, closely adhere to each other, and are equivalent to τὸ πῶς περιπατοῦντας δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀρέσκειν τῷ Θεῷ.

ἵνα] is a resumption of the former ἵνα; the words καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον, may be regarded as a complimentary form for οὕτω περιπατῆτε.

2. οἴδατε γάρ, *for ye know.*] For ye know what ye did re-

ceive from us (with reference to καθὼς καὶ παρελάβετε in previous verse): the commands that we gave you, not of ourselves, but through our Lord Jesus Christ. The connexion shows that the Apostle is not here speaking of the truths of the Gospel, but of practical rules of life. Yet these rules of life, as in 1 Cor. vi. 19., run up into a single principle, which is the gift of the Holy Spirit, v. 8. Compare also v. 11., where the rule that he had given was “that they should get their own living.”

3. The Apostle goes on to a further explanation of what the precepts were. “For this that I am about to speak of, is what God wills—your sanctification.” This is further defined by the clause:—ἀπέχσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας. Compare the decree of the Apostles and brethren at Jerusalem, that the Gentiles should abstain “from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood.” The reason probably was in both cases the same; the extreme difficulty that there was in heathen cities in preserving purity of morals among the converts. See note at the end of the chapter.

τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, μὴ ἐν πά- 5
 θει ἐπιθυμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότες τὸν θεόν,
 τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν 6
 ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διότι ἔκδικος¹ κύριος περὶ πάντων τούτων,
 καθὼς καὶ προείπαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ διεμαρτυράμεθα. οὐ γὰρ 7
 ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ.

¹ Add δ.

4. τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι, *to get his own vessel.*] It is doubted whether under the image of a vessel is meant "the body" or "a wife." The meaning of the word κτᾶσθαι, and the opposition of ἑαυτοῦ το πορνείας, and also to πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, in ver. 6., is decidedly in favour of the latter interpretation. Compare 1 Cor. vii. 2., for a similar opposition, διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔχέτω. For the figure, compare 1 Peter, iii. 7. See also parallels in Schöttgen, which prove the common Jewish use of σκεῦος for a wife. On the other hand, it may be urged that there would be no propriety here, as there is elsewhere, in the description of the "body" under the metaphor of a vessel; when in Rom. ix. 21., the term σκεῦος ὀργῆς occurs, this is a continuation of the figure of the potter; when in 2 Cor. iv. 7., the body is called ὀστράκινον σκεῦος, this is to denote its frailty; so in 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21. the metaphor is helped by the surrounding words. But none of these uses shows that σκεῦος in this place could simply mean body.

The exact force of the whole passage may be expressed as follows:—"This is the will of God—your sanctification:" by this is meant, "your abstaining

from fornication, your knowing how to live chastely in a married state." This is opposed to verse 6., the general sense of which is "not to covet another man's wife." Two difficulties occur, however, in the attempt to disentangle the connexion. First, it might seem as if St. Paul was enjoining all men to marry. This, however, is modified by ver. 6. Every man is to have his own wife, rather than to defraud his neighbour. In other words, the precept is not absolute; but relative to the sin of adultery and fornication. The second difficulty is the insertion of μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας, in ver. 5., because it might be said, that though the heathen were distinguished from Christians by immorality, they were not so by an abuse of the marriage-bed in particular. But the words, ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας, though forming an antithesis to ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, need not necessarily, when applied to the heathen, carry us back to κτᾶσθαι τὸ σκεῦος. In ver. 5. these latter words are lost sight of and some general idea gathered from them, such as "living" ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας.

ἐν ἁγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ.] Compare, as slightly confirming the interpretation given above, Heb. xiii. 4., τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι; also the use of the word ἀτιμάζεσθαι, Rom. i. 24.

- 5 vessel in sanctification and honour: not in the lust of
 concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not
 6 God: that no man go beyond and defraud his brother
 in the matter: because that the Lord is the avenger of
 all these things, as we also forewarned you and testified.
 7 For God called us not unto uncleanness, but in sancti-

5. *μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας, not in the lust of concupiscence.*] By the word *πάθος* is implied the state of yielding to lust, the state in which lust becomes an affection of the man. Compare Rom i. 26., *εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας*, and vii. 5., *τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*.

6. *τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν*] is a further resumption and definition of ver. 4. The article only gives the clause a substantive, instead of an infinitive form as above, *ὁ ἁγιασμός ὑμῶν*, which, though a substantive, stands in apposition with *ἀπέχεσθαι*. The Apostle is continuing in his former track, not passing on to the subject of covetousness; a transition which would be inconsistent with what follows, and would deprive the words *ἐν τῷ πράγματι* of meaning.

Another aspect is thus presented to us of sins of the flesh; the wrong done to our neighbour. It is not necessary to suppose that any idea of unchastity is conveyed by the term "covet," any more than in the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." The meaning exclusively arises from the connexion and application of the word.

ἐν τῷ πράγματι, not for *ἐν τινι*, nor for *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι*, but simply *in the matter*, i. e. of which we are speaking, as elsewhere, without a distinct antecedent. As similarly wanting in a pre-

cise antecedent, compare iii. 3., *ἐν αὐτῇ θλίψειν ταύταις*, and just below, *περὶ πάντων τούτων*. Although *ἐν τῷ πράγματι* is not put, *usu modesto*, for *concupitu*, yet it is probable that the obscurity of the passage arises partly from the decency in which the Apostle clothes it. The expression occurs again 2 Cor. vii. 11.; also with an imperfect antecedent.

περὶ πάντων τούτων, about all these things.] That is, all sins of uncleanness.

καὶ προείπαμεν.] *καὶ* = too, moreover; as moreover we told you, and, I may say, in still stronger language testified to you. Compare *προελέγομεν*, iii. 4.

What the Apostle means by *διαμαρτύρεσθαι* might be illustrated by several characteristic expressions in the Epistles, such as Gal. i. 20.: "Behold before God I lie not;" 2 Thess. v. 27.: "I conjure you by the Lord that this Epistle be read to all the brethren." See also Gal. v. 3., Eph. iv. 17.

7. *ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, for God calls us not to uncleanness.*] Compare *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε*, Gal. v. 13. The preposition *ἐπὶ* in such expressions wavers between the senses of object and condition. *ἐν* signifies the state in which men are called (compare Gal. i. 6.), or which results from their calling. It often happens that modes of thought vary without

τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν 8
τὸν¹ διδόντα αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας οὐ χρεῖαν² ἔχομεν γράφειν 9
ὑμῖν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν
ἀλλήλους· καὶ γὰρ ποιεῖτε αὐτὸ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς³ 10
ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
περισσεύειν μᾶλλον καὶ φιλοτιμείσθαι ἡσυχάζειν καὶ 11
πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς⁴ χερσὶν ὑμῶν, καθὼς
ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν, ἵνα περιπατῇτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς 12
τοὺς ἕξω καὶ μηδενὸς χρεῖαν ἔχητε.

Οὐ θέλομεν⁵ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν κοιμω- 13

¹ καὶ δόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ . . εἰς ἡμᾶς.

³ Add τοὺς.

⁴ Add ἰδίαις.

² ἔχετε.

⁵ δέλω.

corresponding variations of meaning; the same Christian grace may be represented indifferently as a condition, or an object, or a state, or a result. There is no need, therefore, to make an antithesis between ἐπὶ and ἐν, the inversion of which would not have involved any change in the sense. The appearance of antithesis arises, partly from the love of variety natural to all language, partly from an awkwardness in the use of language, in a late and rhetorical age, by a writer who was imperfectly master of it.

8. τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν, therefore the despiser (that is, of the commands which have preceded) despises not man but God, who gives to you his Holy Spirit. Compare iii. 13. The latter clause, τὸν διδόντα, κ. τ. λ., is a repetition of the reason conveyed by ἐκάλεσεν; it heightens the heinousness of the sin, and at the same time suggests why it was unnatural that the Thessalonians should commit it. τὸ ἅγιον

contains an allusion to ἐν ἁγί-ασμῳ.

9. But (to turn to another subject) concerning love to the brethren, I have no need to write to you; for that is a lesson ye already know, being taught of God himself, to the end that ye love one another.

The meaning is not simply, "I need not teach you, for God himself teaches you;" but I need not teach you, for God teaches you effectually. The rhetorical turn "I have no need" is characteristic of the Apostle. Comp. v. 12.; 2 Cor. ix 1.; Philemon, 19. εἰς implies at once result and object: "For ye give the best evidence of having learnt it by your actions towards all the brethren in all Macedonia. καὶ γὰρ, for ye are not only taught, but do it; ποιεῖτε is emphatic. αὐτό, sc. τὸ ἀγαπᾶν.

10. παρακαλοῦμεν δέ, but we beseech you.] The most convenient way of taking these words is to separate them from what has preceded and connect them with

- 8 fication. He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not
man, but God, who ¹ giveth unto you his holy Spirit.
- 9 But as touching brotherly love ² we need not to write
unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to
10 love one another. And indeed ye do it toward all the
brethren which are in all Macedonia: but we beseech
11 you, brethren, to increase more and more; and to
study to be quiet, and do your own business, and work
12 with your ³ hands, as we commanded you; that ye may
walk honestly towards them that are without, and may
have lack of nothing.
- 13 But we ⁴ would not have you to be ignorant, brethren,

¹ Who hath also given unto us.

³ *Add own.*

² Ye need not that I write.

⁴ I.

what follows:—"But we beseech you, brethren, to increase more and more, and make quietness the object of your ambition." *περισσεύειν* may refer to brotherly love, but is not confined to it.

It is not necessary to suppose that in the words that follow the Apostle is warning the Thessalonians against the abuse of charity and brotherly love, for which he had just before commended them; though it is true that evils would soon creep into a society which was a family of love.

11. *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, κ. τ. λ.*] These words derive their chief illustration from the Second Epistle. From both together we infer that the Church had fallen into disorder, and that some of its members had given up their daily occupations. This disorder may very probably have arisen from an expectation of the immediate coming of Christ. See note at the end of the chapter. Supposing this to be the case, a thread of connexion is supplied

with the new subject, which suggests itself to the Apostle's mind at ver. 13. The Thessalonians are excited and unsettled, and one of the causes of their unsettlement is the state of the dead.

12. *ἵνα περιπατῇτε εὐσχημόνως*] is a counsel of prudence, not of brotherly love. Comp. Col. iv. 5.; 1 Tim. iii. 7.; 1 Cor. xiv. 24. It is characteristic of St. Paul to ask, "What will the Gentiles say of us?" a part of the Christian prudence, which was one of the great features of his life.

καὶ μηδενὸς χρεῖαν ἔχετε.] *μηδενὸς* is here the neuter. These words supply a further reason for their working diligently, "that they might not be in want."

13. The Apostle passes on, with a formula that he employs elsewhere (*οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί*), to a new subject, the state of the departed. The train of thought may possibly have been suggested by the previous exhortation to be diligent

μένων,¹ ἵνα μὴ λυπηῖσθε καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες
ἐλπίδα. εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν καὶ 14
ἀνέστη, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι 15

¹ κεκοιμημένων.

in their daily occupations, the missing link being that their occupations had been interrupted by the expectation of the coming of Christ. Compare chap. v. 11, 12. It may also have been a reply to an inquiry, or may have originated in the Apostle hearing of the anxiety of the converts, who found that a gloom was cast upon their faith in Christ, by the death of some one of their number. Their sadness was not as to whether or not there was a future state, but whether those who were already dead should participate in the coming reign of Christ. To the Jew of old, death seemed sad, because it took men away from the presence of God. Yet more sad must it have appeared to the uninstructed mind of the first converts, because it took them away in the very hour when it seemed good to live, "waiting for the Son from heaven."

Οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγροεῖν.] Comp. Rom. i. 13. ; xi. 25. ; 1 Cor. x. 1. ; xii. 1. ; 2 Cor. i. 8., in which passages it is used to give emphasis to the subject which the Apostle is introducing.

περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων, concerning them which are asleep.] A euphemism for the dead which is used in the Old Testament and sometimes in classical writers; more than a euphemism in the New Testament, which speaks also of their awakening.

καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποί, as the

others.] The heathen, as in Ephesians, ii. 3., who sorrow as the Apostle, regarding them partly from his own point of view, says of them, or have reason to sorrow for their ignorance of the future.

It would be easy to multiply quotations from classical writers in illustration of this expression, like the words of Theocritus, Idyll. iv. 42., ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωῷσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες: or the mournful strain of Catullus, v. 4., "Soles occidere et redire possent. Nobis quum semel occidit brevis lux nox est perpetua una dormienda;" or the life-like touch of Lucretius, iii. 942., "Nec quisquam expergitus exstat, frigida quem semel est vitæ pausa secuta;" or the sad complaints of Cicero and Quintilian over the loss of their children; or the dreary hope of an immortality of fame in Tacitus or Thucydides, or the still more dreary acquiescence in the belief of a future state as a useful terror to man in general, by Chrysippus and others; or the trifling dispute in the Ethics of Aristotle affecting not the fact but a question of words. The silence of the earlier books of the Old Testament is not less awful; and its language where it speaks, though more religious, is in many passages hardly more cheering: "The living, the living, he shall praise thee. What profit is there in the grave? Shall they that go down into the pit, declare thy truth?"

concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not,
 14 even as the others which have no hope. For if we
 believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them
 also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.
 15 For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that

A future state, it has been said, was discovered by the ancient world, like the Copernican system, as one guess among many. Rather say it was a shadow, a thought, a hope, a poetical fancy, to which the traditions of ages had given a sort of reality. It would be idle to talk of it as a subject of belief. That the mythology which had lost its hold on this world, should have retained it in reference to the shadowy forms of another, would be, indeed, incredible. Even to Plato it was but the idea of an eternal truth, before and after, of which mind was the confluence, and in which the individuality of man faintly appeared from time to time. And Socrates, at the hour of death, knew not whether he was laughing at himself and others, in speaking of a world to come and of the souls of just men made perfect (Phædo, 64.). Nor, if we argue from the analogy of human nature among ourselves, is there reason to think that any natural terror would make itself a consolation. All men are resigned to death; they sorrow indeed, but not for themselves, but for the loss of friends or children.

14. The connexion may be traced as follows:—"I would not have you sorrow for the dead, for they are one with Christ; and as they are dead with him, shall also rise with him." Cf. Rom. viii. 11.

εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν, for if we believe.] In the apodosis, we expect

καὶ πιστεύειν δεῖ ὅτι. The Apostle has shortened the expression.

οὕτως.] As Christ rose, so shall the dead rise through him. Cf. Acts i. 11., *οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὁν τρόπον ἐθεάσαθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.*

ὁ Θεός.] He that raised up Christ from the dead.

διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.] Not the martyrs, as the Apostle is here speaking of the whole communion of the dead, as in v. 15. of the living; nor will the order of the thought and the antithesis of *ἀπέθανε* and *κοιμηθέντας* allow us to connect *δι' αὐτοῦ* with *ἄξει*.

According to another explanation, *διὰ*, which with the genitive commonly means the instrument, is here used to describe the state. Comp. Rom. viii. 25., xiv. 20.; 2 Cor. iii. 11. Yet in the passages quoted the idea of the instrument is not wholly lost; nor do any of them apply to a person. It is better therefore to say, not that *διὰ* is put for *ἐν*, according to the old grammatical phraseology; but only to compare them as parallel expressions. As all things are said to be "in Christ," so, although the usage is less general, they may also be said to be "through Christ," as in Rom. i. 8., *εὐχαριστῶ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ.] The dead are already risen, and will reappear with Christ at his reappearance.

15. *τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν.*] The Apo-

ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ 16
 κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ
 κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι
 Θεοῦ καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν χριστῷ 17
 ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλει-

stle adds emphatically:—"And this I say to you not of myself, but by the word of Christ." It has been asked respecting this passage, as well as in reference to 1 Cor. vii. 10., whether St. Paul is referring to some special saying of our Lord on these subjects, *i. e.* resurrection and divorce, or to a revelation which he had received from Him. Neither of the passages supposed to be alluded to (Matt. xxiv. 31., or John, v. 25.) is sufficiently near in sense to make it safe for us to identify them; while a strong negative argument may be urged on the other side, from the fact of no other quotations in St. Paul's writings being apparently derived from our canonical Gospels. It may be further adduced as an argument in favour of the supposition that St. Paul is referring to actual words of Christ, that he nowhere speaks of any special truths or doctrines as imparted to himself. When he uses the expression, "not I, but the Lord," 1 Cor. vii. 12., he is speaking of matters of discipline, not of doctrine.

The question suggests a wider one, which is equally incapable of receiving a precise answer:—"What did St. Paul know of the life of Christ?" Two passages only throw any considerable light on this subject. First, 1 Cor. xv. 3—10., in which the Apostle describes himself, not only as preaching to the Corinthians the doctrine of the resurrection of

Christ, but as dwelling on the minute circumstances which attested it. Had he told them in like manner of other events in the life of Christ? Had the parables and discourses of Christ interwoven themselves in his teaching? Were the miracles of Christ a witness to which he appealed?

It is instructive to put these questions, even though they remain without an answer. St. Paul must have known numberless persons who had followed the footsteps of the Lord on earth; and yet the only memorial which he has preserved is the short fragment, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," which forms the second of the two quotations alluded to above (Acts, xx. 35. Compare 1 Tim. vi. 13.; the mention of the institution of the Lord's Supper, in 1 Cor. xi. 24.; also Phil. ii. 7., 2 Cor. viii. 9.). Had all the things that were known of Christ in the days of the Apostle been written down, "the world itself," it might be said, would hardly have contained "the books that should be written;" and yet, as far as we can trace, it was not the sayings or events of the life of Christ, but the witness of the Old Testament prophets, that formed the larger part of St. Paul's teaching, the "external" evidence by which he supported, in himself and others, the inward and living sense of union with Christ, the medium through which he preached "Christ crucified."

we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the
 16 Lord shall not prevent them which sleep; because the
 Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout,
 with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of
 17 God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we

ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες.] Is St. Paul speaking here of his own generation only? or are the living at a particular time put for the living in general, these being spoken of in the first person by way of contrast with the dead from whom they are parted? In 1 Cor. xv. 51., if we adopt Lachmann's reading, the Apostle seems* to number himself, not among the living, but among the dead, at the coming of Christ. The mode of thought in the present passage is not precisely similar, but yet not entirely different. We may consider ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες as a figure of the living in general, just as οἱ κοιμώμενοι, though primarily referring to the dead in the Thessalonian Church, is also put for the dead in general. It is nevertheless true, that the words imply the immediate expectation of Christ's coming. The Apostle could not have said "we," if he had had a distinct perception that the coming of Christ was still far distant.

οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν, *shall not prevent*;) i. e. shall not leave behind those that are asleep.

16. ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος.] αὐτὸς is added to give dignity to the coming of Christ. "The Lord himself."

κελεύσματος,] with a cry of command, as of a general to his host. The words ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου and ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ are added as an epexegetis to express the

mode of giving the command. As in the Old Testament, the Lord was to come surrounded by his saints, with the archangel as the captain of his host, and the sound of the trumpet as on Mount Sinai. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 52.; Matthew, xxiv. 42.; Jude, 14.; where the word ἀρχάγγελος also occurs.

καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν χριστῷ, *and the dead in Christ.*] Here, as in 1 Cor. xv., the Apostle confines himself to the resurrection of the just. He does not carry on his thoughts to the question what destiny was to be reserved for the wicked, still less to the further question, what was to become of the multitude of the heathen. The first act of the last drama, πρῶτον, is the resurrection of the dead who are to meet Christ; the second, the gathering to them of the inhabitants of the earth.

Where the things of which we are speaking, are such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, which can only be expressed in figures of speech and types of the Old Testament, it is vain to attempt to define exactly the meaning of particular words, or to fill up the figures by which the general meaning is conveyed. Such an attempt is like painting a picture of the scenes in the Apocalypse, which, the moment they are brought together, are seen to have a pro-

πόμενοι ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς
 ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν
 κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα. ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς ¹⁸
 λόγοις τούτοις.

phetic and symbolical meaning,
 not an artistic unity.

17. εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, *into the air.*] The Apostle speaks not of the earth, or of the heaven, as the scene of this first meeting of the living and the dead with their

common Lord and with each other, but of the mid-air. Interpreters go on to ask if he supposed the air to be the abiding-seat of Christ's kingdom. Is not this a question about the propriety of figures of speech? Yet

which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air:
 18 and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

admitting that we are discussing the shadows of those things, and not the very things themselves, it agrees better with the Apostle's usual language to regard heaven as the final and everlasting home of Christians, while on

the other hand the air is appropriated to the powers of evil (Eph. ii. 2.).

καὶ οὕτως,] “and thus, after we have once met the Lord, shall we ever be with the Lord.”

EVILS IN THE CHURCH OF THE
APOSTOLICAL AGE.

WERE we, with the view of forming a judgment of the moral state of the early Church, to examine the subjects of rebuke most frequently referred to by the Apostle, these would be found to range themselves under four heads : — first, licentiousness ; secondly, disorder ; thirdly, scruples of conscience ; fourthly, strifes about doctrine and teachers. The consideration of these four subjects, the two former falling in with the argument of the Epistle to the Thessalonians, the two latter more closely connected with the Romans and the Galatians, will give what may be termed the darker side of the primitive Church.

1. Licentiousness was the besetting sin of the Roman world. Except by a miracle, it was impossible that the new converts could be at once and wholly freed from it. It lingered in the flesh when the spirit had cast it off. It had interwoven itself in the pagan religions ; and, if we may believe the writings of adversaries, was ever reappearing on the confines of the Church in the earliest heresies. It was possible for men “ to resist unto death, striving against sin,” yet to fall beneath its power. Even within the pale of the Church, it might assume the form of a mystic Christianity. The very ecstacy of conversion would often lead to a reaction. Nothing is more natural than that in a licentious city, like Corinth or Ephesus, those who were impressed by St. Paul’s teaching should have gone their way, and returned to their former life. In this case it would seldom happen that they apostatized into the ranks of the heathen ; the same impulse which led them to the Gospel, would lead them also to bridge the gulf which separated them from its purer morality.

Many may have sinned and repented again and again, unable to stand themselves in the general corruption, yet unable to cast aside utterly the image of innocence and goodness which the Apostle had set before them. There were those, again, who consciously sought to lead the double life, and imagined themselves to have found in licentiousness the true freedom of the Gospel.

How the consciences of men were aroused to the sense that sins of the flesh were really sins, may be seen by the manner in which the Apostle speaks of them. His tone respecting them is very different from that of moralists, or of common conversation even among serious men in modern times. He says nothing of the distrust which they infuse into society, or the consequences to the individual himself. It is not in this way that moral evils are presented to us in Scripture. Neither does he appeal to public opinion as condemning them, or dwell on the ruin involved in them to one half of the human race. True and forcible as these aspects of such sins are, they are the result of modern reflection, not the first instincts of reason and conscience. They strengthen the moral principles of mankind, but are not of a kind to touch the individual soul. They are a good defence for the existing order of things; but they will not purify the nature of man, or extinguish the flames of lust.

It is a new and hitherto unheard of language in which the Apostle denounces sins of impurity. They are not moral evils, but spiritual. They corrupt the soul; they defile the temple of the Holy Ghost; they cut men off from the body of Christ. Of morality, as distinct from religion, there is hardly a trace in the Epistles of St. Paul. He cannot appeal to public opinion, for public opinion does not exist; the Gospel itself has to make the standard to the level of which it will raise the world. Fornication and uncleanness were mildly, when at all, censured by heathen philosophy. From within, not from without, the nature of sin has to be explained; as it appears in the depths of the human soul, in the awakening conscience of mankind. Even its consequences in another state of being are but slightly touched upon, in comparison with that living death which

itself is. It is not merely a vice or crime, or even an offence against the law of God, to be punished here or hereafter. It is more than this. It is what men feel in themselves, not what they observe in those around them; not what shall be, but what is; a terrible consciousness, a mystery of iniquity, a communion with unseen powers of evil.

All sin is spoken of in the Epistles of St. Paul, as rooted in human nature, and quickened by the consciousness of law; but especially is this the case with the sin which is more than any other the type of sin in general—fornication. It is, in a peculiar sense, the sin of the flesh, with which the very idea of the corruption of the flesh is closely connected, just as, in 1 Thess. iv. 3., the idea of holiness is regarded as almost equivalent to abstinence from the commission of it. It is a sin against a man's own body, distinguished from all other sins by its personal and individual nature. No other is at the same time so gross and so insidious; no other partakes so much of the slavery of sin. As marriage is the type of the communion of Christ and his Church, as the body is the member of Christ, so the sin of fornication is a strange and mysterious union with evil.

But although such is the tone of the Apostle, there is no violence to human nature in his commands respecting it. He knew how easily extremes meet, how hard it is for asceticism to make clean that which is within, how quickly it might itself pass into its opposite. Nothing can be more different from the spirit of early ecclesiastical history on this subject, than the moderation of St. Paul. The remedy for sin is not celibacy, but marriage. Even second marriages are, for the prevention of sin, to be encouraged. In the same spirit is his treatment of the incestuous person. He had committed a sin not even named among the Gentiles, for which he was to be delivered unto Satan, for which all the Church should humble themselves; yet upon his true repentance, no ban is to separate him from the rest of the brethren, no doom of endless penance is recorded against him. Whatever might have been the enormity of his offence, he was to be forgiven, as in heaven, so on earth.

The manner in which the Corinthian Church are described as regarding this offence before the Apostle's rebuke to them, no less than the lenient sentence of the Apostle himself afterwards, as well as his constant admonitions on the same subject in all his Epistles, must be regarded as indications of the state of morality among the first converts. Above all other things, the Apostle insisted on purity as the first note of the Christian character; and yet the very earnestness and frequency of his warnings show that he is speaking, not of a sin hardly named among saints, but of one the victory over which was the greatest and most difficult triumph of the cross of Christ.

2. It is hard to resist the impression which naturally arises in our minds, that the early Church was without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; as it were, a bride adorned for her husband, the type of Christian purity, the model of Apostolical order. The real image is marred with human frailty; its evils, perhaps, arising more from this cause than any other, that in its commencement it was a kingdom not of this world; in other words, it had no political existence or legal support; hence there is no evil more frequently referred to in the Epistles than disorder.

This spirit of disorder was manifested in various ways. In the Church of Corinth, the communion of the Lord's Supper was administered so as to be a scandal; "one was hungry, and another was drunken." There was as yet no rite or custom to which all conformed. In the same Church, the spiritual gifts were manifested without rule or order. It seemed as if God was not the author of peace, but of confusion. All spoke together, men and women, apparently without distinction, singing, praying, teaching, uttering words unintelligible to the rest, with no regular succession or subordination (1 Cor. xiv.). The scene in their assemblies was such, that if an unbeliever had come in, he would have said they were mad. There is no other Church into which we have the same particular insight; but it is not likely that more regularity was observed in the Galatian Church, which was distracted between

St. Paul and the false teachers, than in the Corinthian, which still, though in disorder, acknowledged his authority. In the Church to which the Epistle of Jude is addressed, the worst heretics are described as joining in the love feasts of its members, "feeding without fear." The Second Epistle of Peter uses nearly the same words to the Jews of the dispersion. (Jude, 12.; 2 Pet. ii. 13.)

Evils of this kind in a great measure arose from the absence of Church authority. Even the Apostle himself persuades more often than commands, and often uses language which implies a sort of hesitation whether his rule would be acknowledged or not. The freedom with which the Church of Corinth challenges particulars in his life and conduct (1 Cor. ix.) reminds us rather of the license of a modern congregation in censuring a minister of the Gospel, who was under its control, than of the position which we should expect an Apostle to have held in the minds of the first converts. The diverse offices, the figure of the members and the body, do not refer to what was, but to what ought to have been; to an ideal of harmonious life and action, which the Apostle holds up before them, which in practice was far from being realised. The Church was not organized, but was in process of organization. Its only punishment was excommunication, which, as in modern so in primitive times, could not be enforced against the wishes of the majority. In two cases only are members of the Church "delivered unto Satan" (1 Cor. v. 5.; 1 Tim. i. 20.). It was a moral and spiritual, not a legal control that was exercised. Hence the frequent admonitions given, doubtless, because they were needed: "Obey them that have the rule over you."

A second kind of disorder arose from unsettlement of mind. Of such unsettlement we find traces in the levity and vanity of the Corinthians; in the fickleness with which the Galatians left St. Paul for the false teachers; almost (may we not say?) in the very passion with which the Apostle addresses them; above all, in the case of the Thessalonians. How few, among all the converts, were there capable of truly discerning their relation to the world around! or of supporting themselves alone when the fervour of conversion had passed

away and the Apostle was no longer present with them ! They had entered into a state so different from that of their fellow-men, that it might well be termed supernatural. The ordinary experience of men was no longer their guide. They left their daily employments. The great change which they felt within, seemed to extend itself without and involve the world in its shadow. So "palpable to sense" was the vision of Christ's coming again, that their only fear or doubt was how the departed would have a share in it. No religious belief could be more unsettling than this : that to-day, or to-morrow, or the third day, before the sun set or the dawn arose, the sign of the Son of man might appear in the clouds of heaven. It was not possible to take thought for the morrow, to study to be quiet and get their own living, when men hardly expected the morrow. Death comes to individuals now, as nature prepares them for it ; but the immediate expectation of Christ's coming is out of the course of nature. Young and old alike look for it. It is a resurrection of the world itself, and implies a corresponding revolution in the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of men.

A third kind of disorder may have arisen from the same causes, but seems to have assumed another character. As among the Jews, so among the first Christians, there were those who needed to be perpetually reminded, that the powers that be were ordained of God. The heathen converts could not at once lay aside the licentiousness of manners amid which they had been brought up ; no more could the Jewish converts give up their aspirations, that at this time "the kingdom was to be restored to Israel," which had perhaps been in some cases their first attraction to the Gospel. A community springing up in Palestine under the dominion of the Romans, could not be expected exactly to draw the line between the things that were Cæsar's and the things that were God's, or to understand in what sense "the children were free," in what sense it was nevertheless their duty to pay tribute. The spirit of those Galileans "who called no man Lord," must have sometimes found its way into the early Christian Church. When men are "wrestling against princi-

palities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in heavenly places," they do not find it easy to reconcile their course of action with the bidding of those "who sit in Moses's seat." That one of the chief apprehensions of the Apostle was this tendency to rebellion, is proved by the frequency of the exhortations to obey magistrates, and the energy with which he sets himself against it.

3. The third head of our inquiry related to scruples of conscience, which were chiefly of two kinds; regarding either the observance of days, or the eating with unclean or unbelievers. Were they, or were they not, to observe the Jewish Sabbath, or new moon, or passover? Such questions as these are not to be considered the fancies or opinions of individuals; but, as mankind are quick enough to discover, involve general principles, and are but the outward signs of some deep and radical difference. In the question of the observance of Jewish feasts, and still more in the question of going in unto men uncircumcised and eating with them, was implied the whole question of the relation of the disciple of Christ to the Jew, just as the question of sitting at meat in the idol's temple was the question of the relation of the disciple of Christ to the Gentile. Was the Christian to preserve his caste, and remain within the pale of Judaism? Was he in his daily life to carry his religious scruples so far as to exclude himself from the social life of the heathen world? How much prudence and liberty and charity was necessary for the solution of such difficulties!

Freedom is the key-note of the Gospel, as preached by St. Paul. "All things are lawful." "There is no distinction of Jew or Greek, barbarian or Scythian, bond or free." "Let no man judge you of a new moon or a Sabbath." "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." And yet, if we go back to its origin, the Christian Church was born into the world marked and diversified with the features of the religions that had preceded it, bound within the curtains of the tabernacle, coloured with Oriental opinions that refused to be washed out of the minds of men. The scruples of individuals are but indications of the elements out of which the

Church was composed. There were narrow paths in which men walked, customs which clung to them long after the reason of them had ceased, observances which they were unable to give up, though conscience and reason alike disowned them, which were based on the traditions of half the world, and could not be relinquished, however alien to the spirit of the Gospel. Slowly and gradually, as Christianity itself became more spread, these remnants of Judaism or Orientalism disappeared, and the spirit which had been taught from the beginning made itself felt in the hearts of men and in the institutions of the Church.

4. The heresies of the Apostolical age are a subject too wide for illustration in a note. We shall attempt no more than to bring together the names and heads of opinion which occur in Scripture, with the view of completing the preceding sketch.

There was the party of Peter and of Paul, of the circumcision and of the uncircumcision. There were those who knew "Christ according to the flesh;" those who, like St. Paul, knew him only as revealed within. There were others who, after casting aside circumcision, were still struggling between the old dispensation and the new. There were those who never went beyond the baptism of John; others, again, to whom the Gospel of Christ clothed itself in Alexandrian language. There were prophets, speakers with tongues, discerners of spirits, interpreters of tongues. There were seekers after "knowledge, falsely so called;" "spoilers of others with philosophy and vain deceit," "worshippers of angels, intruders into things they had not seen." There were those who looked daily for the coming of Christ; others who "said that the Resurrection was passed already." There were some who maintained an Oriental asceticism in their lives, "forbidding to marry, commanding to abstain from meats." There were individuals, like Hymenæus and Alexander, who had "made shipwreck of their faith;" like Phygellus and Hermogenes, who had "turned away" from St. Paul; like Diotrephes, the leader in the Church of Ephesus, who refused to "receive" St. John. There were national differences, Jewish Sectarian ten-

dencies, heathen systems of philosophy; stones of another workmanship built into the fabric of the Christian Church. There was the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, the synagogue of Satan, who "said that they were Jews, and are not," "the woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess." There were wild heretics, "many Antichrists," "grievous wolves, entering into the fold," apostasy of whole churches at once. There were mingled anarchy and licentiousness, "filthy dreamers, despising dominion, speaking evil of dignities," of whom no language is too strong for St. Paul or St. John to use, though they seem to have been separated by no definite line from the Church itself. There were fainter contrasts, too, of those who agreed in the unity of the same spirit, aspects, and points of view, as we term them, of faith and works, of the Epistle to the Romans and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

How this outline is to be filled up must for ever remain, in a great degree, matter of speculation. Yet there is not a single trait here mentioned which does not reappear in the second century, either within the Church or without it, more or less prominent as favoured by circumstances or the reverse. The beginning of Ebionitism, Sabaism, Gnosticism, Montanism, Alexandrianism, Orientalism, and of the licentiousness which marked the track of some of them, are all discernible in the Apostolical age. They would be more correctly regarded, not as offshoots of Christianity, but as the soil in which it grew up. We are surrounded by them, in the Epistles of St Paul, as truly as the Israelites were surrounded by their enemies when they first took possession of the Promised Land. They are not errors which arose when men began to speculate on the truths of the Gospel: Gnosticism, in particular, would be more nearly described as the mental atmosphere of the Greek cities of Asia, a conducting medium between heathenism and Christianity, in the magic light of which all religions faded and reappeared. None of them pass away at once; some even acquire a temporary principle of life, and grow up parallel with the Church itself. As opinions and tendencies of the human mind, many linger among us to the

present day. Only after the destruction of Jerusalem, with the spread of the Gospel over the world, as the spirit of the East moves towards the West, Judaism dies away, to rise again, as some hold, in the glorified form of a mediæval Church.

Such is the reverse side of the picture of the Apostolical age; what proportions we should give to each feature it is impossible to determine. We need not infer that all Churches were in the same disorder as Corinth and Galatia; or like Sardis, in which only "a few names had not defiled their garments;" nor can we say how far the more flagrant evils were tamely submitted to by the Church itself. There was much of good that we can never know; much also of evil. The first Christians stood alone in the world: many of them were ready to venture their lives for the faith; most of them had probably suffered persecution — a difference between ourselves and them than which none can be greater. And perhaps the general lesson which we gather from the preceding considerations is, not that the state of the primitive Church was better or worse than our first thoughts would have suggested, but that its state was one in which good and evil exercised a more vital power, were more subtly intermingled with, and more easily passed into, each other. All things were coming to the birth, some in one way, some in another. The supports of custom, of opinion, of tradition, had given way; human nature was thrown upon itself and the guidance of the Spirit of God. There were as many diversities of human character in the world then as now; more strange influences of religion and race than have ever since met in one; a far greater yearning of the human intellect to solve the problems of existence. There was no settled principle of morality independent of and above religious convictions. All these causes are sufficient to account for the diversities of opinion or practice, as well as for the extremes which met in the bosom of the primitive Church.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν, ἀδελφοί, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γράφεσθαι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς οἶδατε ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται. ὅταν [δὲ¹] λέγωσιν, Εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὁ λεθρὸς ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδιν τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ, καὶ

¹ γάρ.

The Apostle had been speaking of the coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven. The question would naturally arise in the minds of the Thessalonians, "When shall these things be?" But this they already know as far as it can be known. (Compare the turn of iv. 9.) And all that can be known is that "The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night." The world is lying in darkness, asleep, ready to be surprised. But they are the children of the day, having a light within anticipating the dawn; they may not be asleep, they cannot be surprised; they are to arm themselves as soldiers of Christ, taking the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation; for to salvation they are appointed through Christ Jesus, with whom they are one in life and death.

Many characteristics of St. Paul are crowded in this passage. First, the rhetorical turn, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε. Secondly, the subtle transition in the use of the metaphor of the day of the Lord to the moral lesson that they are to walk as children of the day. (Compare Rom. xiii. 1—14.) Thirdly, the imagery of v. 8. (compare Ephes. vi.); also the going off upon the word *σωτηρία*, which is made the link of the following verse. Fourthly, the thought of our identity with Christ, in which is still retained

the allusion to sleeping and waking. And lastly, in the 11th verse, the resumption of the precept which closes the preceding chapter.

Led by some hidden train of association, either because the expectation of the day of the Lord had caused disorder among them, or as a sequel to the precept, that they should walk soberly as children of the light, the Apostle goes on to exhort his converts to obey those who are set over them in the Lord. Then follow (as towards the close of several Epistles) isolated precepts succeeding each other in order, sometimes of meaning, sometimes of form, passing from the particular to the general, or from the general to the particular, and ending with a final prayer for their sanctification, by the God who can heal disorder, and can and will preserve them blameless against the day of the Lord Jesus. The Epistle concludes with the salutation of the brethren, the charge that the Epistle should be read to all, and the benediction.

V. 1. οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε, *ye have no need.*] Perhaps because the Apostle had told them, or because the sudden coming of Christ was a universal belief with the first converts. So in modern times a preacher might say, "There is no need for me to speak to you of the uncertainty of life." γράφε-

5 But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have
 2 no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know
 perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief
 3 in the night. But¹ when they shall say, Peace and
 safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as
 travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not

¹ For.

σθαι, impersonal for ἵνα γράφηται, a lax usage in later Greek, which may be compared with the reverse use of ἵνα with the subjunctive instead of the infinitive, both arising from the same cause, the growing indefiniteness of the latter mood. Compare iv. 9.

2. *ἡμέρα κυρίου, the day of the Lord.*] Neither the day of death to individuals, nor the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor in the common sense the end of the world. More truly should we say that the Apostle meant all these, ere they had separated themselves from the indistinct future. It was the day spoken of by the prophet Joel, referred to by St. Peter in the Acts, and prophesied of by Christ himself, in which the destruction of Jerusalem was to be followed by the sign of the Son of man in the clouds, and in which wars and tumults, as well as natural convulsions, were to herald the end of the world. It was the day of revelation, in which the Apostle was to receive his reward and the work in the hearts of his converts to be completed. (2 Thess. ii. 2.; 1 Cor. i. 8., v. 5.; 2 Cor. i. 14.; Philipp. i. 6. 10., ii. 16.)

ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτί, *as a thief in the night,*] is emphatic. From this and similar figures arises the

notion which the early Church entertained in common with the Jews, that the Messiah would come on the vigil of a Pascal festival. The words explain themselves. Yet they suggest also a passing commemoration of those who regarded them not as a figure, but as a fact; who have watched with "their lamps lighted" in every age, at many altars, in all lands, waiting for their Lord.

3. ὅταν δὲ λέγωσιν, *but when they shall say.*] δέ, if genuine, expresses the opposition of the fact to their expectation. "But they shall be saying peace and safety when sudden destruction comes upon them." By an awkwardness of expression it is joined to the protasis of the sentence.

The signs of the end of the world are described elsewhere to be such as would arrest and amaze men: here "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" yet it is not said, as our Saviour adds, "the kingdom of God is within you." In different passages of Scripture, and even in the same passage, the coming of the kingdom of God is described to us under contradictory aspects. It is near, it is not near; visible and invisible; marked by signs, and yet discernible to God only. It is in

οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγωσιν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἔστέ ἐν σκότει, 4
 ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἡ ἡμέρα ὡς κλέπτας¹ καταλάβῃ· πάντες γὰρ² 5
 ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκ ἔσμεν νυκτὸς
 οὐδὲ σκότους. ἄρα οὖν μὴ καθεύδωμεν ὡς οἱ λοιποί, ἀλλὰ 6
 γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν. οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες νυκτὸς 7
 καθεύδουσιν, καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι νυκτὸς μεθύουσιν· ἡμεῖς 8

¹ ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτῃς.² Omit γάρ.

the clouds of heaven and in the human soul at once. And everywhere the thoughts are drawn off from the over-curious consideration of its form and manner to the practical lesson which may be gathered from it.

4. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, *but ye, brethren.*] There was another point of view in which the day of the Lord might be regarded. Though it would break in with a sudden light upon the heathen world, to the Christian the light which it brought would be that which was already shed abroad in his heart.

ἵνα.] Not, that “the purpose of God may be fulfilled, of coming suddenly on you,” which seems far-fetched, but simply denoting a consequence, “for the day of the Lord to come upon you.”

κλέπτας.] The reading of Lachmann has equal or rather greater MS. authority (A. B.) than κλέπτῃς, which is the reading of the “Textus Receptus” (Δ. Ci. f. g. v.). The question remains somewhat uncertain when argued further on grounds of internal evidence.

On behalf of Lachmann may be urged the old canon of the more difficult reading; the copyist was far more likely to repeat the same case which had occurred in a proverbial expression just quoted than to alter it. The change in the figure itself is also rather in

favour of the accusative κλέπτας. For St. Paul transposes figures of speech in other places, as, for example, Rom. vii. 1—6., where the image begins with the law dying, and ends with men dying to the law; or 1 Thess. ii. 7. and 17.; or 2 Cor. iii. 16—18. The echo of the word is still in his ears; to avoid repetition, he changes its use. Lastly, the reading κλέπτας gives a point to υἱοὶ φωτός.

5. πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε, *for ye are all the children of light.*] The Apostle strengthens and expresses more generally what had been said in the previous verse. Ye, brethren, are not in darkness; for ye are all sons of light and sons of day.

6. As children of the light, let us be children of the light in our life and conversation. Others sleep; but we must watch. Others may be drunken; but we must be sober. The Apostle gives a similar turn to “the day of the Lord,” in Rom. xiii. 12.:—“The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. As in the day, let us walk soberly.” Compare also, for a parallel association of ideas, what we may venture to term the irony of our Lord to his disciples, in John, xi. 9.:—Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any

4 escape. But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that
 5 day should overtake you as thieves¹: for² ye are all
 the children of light, and the children of the day. We are
 6 not of the night, nor of darkness. Therefore let us not
 sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober.
 7 For they that sleep sleep in the night; and they that
 8 be drunken are drunken in the night. But let us who

¹ A thief.

² Omit for.

man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world."

In like manner the Apostle, in what follows, appeals to the common customs of mankind: "It is not the manner of men to sleep in the day."

7. *οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες, for they that sleep.*] Night and day co-exist. They are separated, as it were, rather by place than by time. The night of the world is the day in the believer's soul. In the words, *οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες*, is implied a latent allusion to the state of the heathen. Compare with the whole passage, Eph. v. 8.: "For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light." 13. "But all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light." 14. "Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."

Dropping the simile in such passages, their general meaning may be said to be, "let us be what we are." There are two great modes in which the Christian state is represented to us in Scripture, which, as in this passage, readily pass into each other:

the first, as it may be termed, progressive, in which believers are spoken of as going on to perfection, as having faith and bringing forth its fruits, as not having yet attained; the second what may be called anticipatory, in which the change of state is already fulfilled in them; they are the children of the light, they are one with Christ, and they need only to be awakened to the consciousness of what they truly are. Their final assurance rests rather on looking at what is present or past, than in looking forward to what shall be. Out of this point of view arise practical precepts, the same in substance, though different in form from the preceding.

8. St. Paul goes on to describe the believer under his favourite image of the soldier. This has been already suggested by the mention of watching and sobriety. The weapons with which he is armed are faith, hope, and charity. There is no particular appropriateness in the several figures by which they are described, which in Ephesians, vi. 11—17., are varied. The word *σωτηρίας* seems to be used with a double allusion:—First, as a continuation of the martial image. Secondly, in a Christian sense,

δὲ ἡμέρας ὄντες νήφωμεν, ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως
καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, ὅτι οὐκ 9
ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργήν, ἀλλ' εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας
διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀποθανόντος 10
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορώμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν ἅμα σὺν
αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν. διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε 11
εἰς τὸν ἕνα, καθὼς καὶ ποιεῖτε.

Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, εἰδέναι τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν 12
ὑμῖν καὶ προϋσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νουθετοῦντας
ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡγείσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσῶς¹ ἐν ἀγάπῃ διὰ 13

¹ ὑπὲρ ἐκ περισσοῦ.

which is more fully drawn out in the succeeding verse.

The remembrance of Isaiah lix. 17. is in the Apostle's mind : καὶ ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα καὶ περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. It is remarkable that the expression in Eph. vi. 14., θώρακα δικαιοσύνης, is nearer the language of the prophet than θώρακα πίστεως in this passage. A connecting link between the words of Isaiah and of the Epistle to the Ephesians is found in Wisdom, v. 19.

9. ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο. The connexion turns upon the word σωτηρία, "Because God has appointed us unto salvation," which the Apostle expresses, first, negatively, because God has not appointed us for wrath, *i. e.* for punishment, and then positively, but for the attainment of salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

περιποίησιν σωτηρίας.] περιποιεῖν means to make to remain over, to save, set apart, and in the middle also to acquire. In some passages, περιποίησις also has the idea of making to survive, as in Heb. x. 39., εἰς περιποίησιν τῆς

ψυχῆς; in 1 Peter, ii. 9., λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν; and Eph. i. 14., εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, it means "making or being made a possession," with an allusion to the use of περιποιεῖν, of the chosen people, in Is. xliii. 21.; cf. Mal. iii. 17. Here, as in 2 Thess. ii. 14., the word is taken generally in the sense of possession, and absolutely; that is, without reference either to *our* acquiring or *God's* giving salvation. The words διὰ τοῦ κυρίου are to be taken with περιποίησις σωτηρίας.

10. τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *who died for us.*] There is a double allusion in this verse:—First, the more general thought so often repeated in the Epistles of St. Paul, of the identification of the Christian with his Lord, "who died for us, that whether in life or death we may live with him;" which sometimes assumes the relation of opposition, at other times of sameness, either "he died on our behalf that we may live," or "he died and rose again, that with him also we may die and rise again." But further,

are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for an helmet, the hope of salvation.
 9 For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to* obtain-
 10 ing of salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for
 us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we may live together
 11 with him. Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and
 edify one another, even as also ye do.
 12 And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which
 labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and
 13 admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love

the mode of expression is coloured by what has preceded. Instead of saying, "whether in life or death we may live with him," the Apostle says, "whether we wake or sleep, we may live with him." He recalls what he had been saying before. "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, then also they which *sleep* through Jesus will God bring with him." He died for us, that it might make no difference whether we live or die, or as it is here expressed, that whether we are awake or asleep, at "his coming we may together live with him."

ἅμα is to be taken with *ζήσωμεν*, not with *σὺν αὐτῷ*.

11. *διὸ παρακαλεῖτε*,] from the context (compare iv. 18.) shown to be in the sense of "comfort," rather than "exhort." The Apostle, who had half concluded at the end of the last chapter, here finally terminates the subject of the advent.

εἷς τὸν ἕνα,] one the other; like *ἐν πρὸς ἐν*, *ἐν ἀνθ' ἐνός*, in classical Greek. (Compare 1 Cor. iv. 6.)

12. *Ἐρωτῶμεν δέ*, *but we beg.*] *δέ* is here said to be a particle of transition; or, in other words,

the adversative form of sentence is so natural to the Greek language, that in later Greek it has altogether lost its adversative force.

εἰδέναι,] to have respect for, like the English word "know" in some uses of it. Compare *ἐπιγινώσκετε*, 1 Cor. xvi. 18.

τοὺς κοπιῶντας.] The three expressions all equally denote the elders: (1.) as labourers in the Church; (2.) as its rulers; (3.) as its instructors.

ἐν κυρίῳ,] not as a limitation on *προϊσταμένους*, as though with allusion to other secular rulers, not "in the Lord." The rulers of the Church rule in the Lord, as the whole Church exists in the Lord, as the believer is said to speak, live, and die in Him. Compare i. 2.

13. *καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσῶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ*; not *ἡγεῖσθαι ἐν ἀγάπῃ* (like *ἔχειν ἐν ὀργῇ*, in Thucyd. ii. 18.), to hold them in love. The idiom is smoother and the sense better, if we connect *ἡγεῖσθαι* with *ὑπερεκπερισσῶς*. "We ask of you to esteem them highly in love, *i. e.* loving them, for their works' sake." In these words is implied the double

τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν. εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ 14
 ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε
 τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε
 πρὸς πάντας. ὁρᾶτε μή τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινὶ ἀποδοῇ 15
 ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς 16
 πάντας. πάντοτε χαίρετε, ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε, ἐν 17
 παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν¹ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐν 18
 χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς. τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, προφη- 19
 20

¹ Omit ἐστιν.

notion of regard for their authority and love for their persons, as in the expression διὰ τὸ ἔργον is contained a similar two-fold allusion to their office and their labour of love. The tie which binds the believer to the elders of his Church is a mixed one, partly of duty, and partly of affection.

εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς = ἀλλήλοις.] The Apostle following up the train of thought in the preceding verse, adds a second counsel, of peace with one another.

14. παρακαλοῦμεν δέ.] For δέ see above, ver. 12. The Apostle continues his exhortation to a performance of Christian duties in general.

τοὺς ἀτάκτους, *unruly*.] Who they were we have no means of knowing, but from the Epistle itself; the same probably, who stood in need of the exhortation in iv. 11.:—"That they should study to be quiet and do their own business, and work with their own hands;" to whom the Apostle again returns in 2 Thess. iii. 12.

ὀλιγοψύχους. . ἀσθενῶν, *feeble-minded, weak*.] Not unconnected with what preceded, as the disorders themselves might have arisen from the weakness of some, or the over-conscientiousness of others, or the anxiety of a third

class of persons respecting the state of the departed. If in pagan times evils had arisen from those who had sorrowed without hope and with little thought about the state of the dead, much more would this be likely to be the case where men's hearts were so moved within them and their religious anxieties so intense.

μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας.] Compare 1 Cor. xiii. 4.:—ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ. With this is connected the following precept, in which the rule of Christian life is still further generalised.

15. ὁρᾶτε μή τις.] These words do not mean, "Take heed of some one else;" but "Let each one take heed not to return evil for evil, but everywhere pursue after goodness, both in relation to the brethren and to those without the Church."

It is not strictly true to say that Christianity alone or first forbade to return evil for evil. Plato knew that it was not the true definition of justice to do harm to one's enemies. The Stoics, who taught the extirpation of the passions, were far enough from admitting of revenge to be the only one which should be allowed to remain. It is a higher as well as a truer claim to make for the Gospel,

- 14 for their work's sake. Be at peace among yourselves. Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, 15 be patient toward all men. See that none render evil for evil unto any man ; but ever follow that which is 16 good, both among yourselves, and to all men. Rejoice 17 evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give 18 thanks : for this is the will of God in Jesus Christ concerning you. Quench not the Spirit; despise not

that it kindled that spirit of kindness and goodwill in the breast of man (which could not be wholly extinguished even towards an enemy), until it became a practical principle ; and that it preached as a rule of life for all, what had previously been the supreme virtue, or the mere theory of philosophers.

τὸ ἀγαθόν, *good*,] in the sense of goodness. The opposite of evil inflicted on another.

16. πάντοτε χαίρετε, *rejoice evermore*.] Philipp. iv. 4. Why should this be a duty? Did St. Paul himself always rejoice? In one sense, yes ; as he knew that all things are working together for good. And not only so, but he gloried also in tribulation ; evermore, he was as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing. So the Christian is to have a better mind of joy, even in sorrow. There is no unmixed evil in this world, and it is his duty to appropriate the good in all things.

17. ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε, *pray without ceasing*.] A precept like the last, capable of fulfilment in idea rather than in fact. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the letter profiteth nothing." The true idea of prayer is prayer in Spirit, as the old saying has it,

"*laborare est orare*," not the repeating of long prayers, but the diligent service of God, and the silent reference of all our actions to Him. Eph. vi. 18.

18. ἐν παντί.] The Apostle adds another precept, which may be regarded as uniting in one the last two :—"Give thanks in everything." τοῦτο γάρ, κ. τ. λ. Compare iv. 3. These words may be referred to all the three previous clauses : rejoice alway, pray without ceasing, in everything give thanks. For the will of God is, not that you should sorrow, but that you should be fulfilled with a spiritual joy.

19. τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, *quench not the Spirit*.] The first grace which Christians received was like a new spirit, coming down from heaven, as it is described, in the form of fiery tongues and sitting upon each of them. It was not a power which by long effort they created in themselves ; but one which overpowered them, which was already kindled in them, though it might be extinguished. In this passage, the word πνεῦμα includes the power itself and the spiritual or supernatural gifts which accompanied it.

20. προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε.

τείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε· πάντα δὲ¹ δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν 21
κατέχετε, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε. αὐτὸς δὲ 22
ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς, καὶ ὁλόκληρον 23
ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ
παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τηρηθεῖν.
πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς, ὃς καὶ ποιήσει.

Ἀδελφοί, προσεύχεσθε [καὶ²] περὶ ἡμῶν. ἀσπάσασθε 25
26

¹ Omit δέ.

² Omit καί.

despise not prophesyings.] The essential part of the gift of prophecy was, not the foretelling of future events, but the delivery of spiritual oracles. In no place is the term prophet applied to contemporaries of the Apostles, in the modern sense of the word. It was Jeremiah, Ezekiel, &c., the elder prophets only, who foresaw the distant future. Yet prophesying is not exactly synonymous with preaching or teaching. As the gift of tongues required interpretation, so prophecy was subjected to discerners of spirits, 1 Cor. xv. 29.; 1 John, iv. 1. See below, ver. 21. When it is said that "the spirits of prophets are subject unto the prophets," these very words imply also that they were apt to be beyond the prophet's own power. In an eastern country, in the hour of ecstacy or conversion, such manifestations would be likely to be very different from the forms which they would exhibit among colder tempers. That weakness or imposture would easily mix itself up with them is self-evident, even if it were not indicated in 2 Thess. ii. 2.; 1 John, iv. 1. Hence the Apostle, while exhorting his converts not to despise them, as elsewhere he places them first among spiritual gifts, 1 Cor. xiv.

1., adds in both places the exhortation to try them.

21, 22. The general meaning of these two verses may be paraphrased thus:—"Discern between good and evil; choose the good, avoid the evil." Yet the English translation, "try all things," naturally suggests thoughts very unlike those of the first century. However apt their application may sound, the true meaning is not "make a rational inquiry into all things." The organ of discernment was of another and a spiritual kind. In 1 Cor. xii. 10., St. Paul speaks of a gift of the discernment of spirits, and it is in a similar connexion the precept occurs hereafter; the Apostle has been speaking of prophecy and of the spirit, as in the Corinthians the discerning of spirits is spoken of with immediate reference to the spiritual gifts. Bearing in mind, that the whole state of the first believers was extraordinary and spiritual, we shall find the meaning in both passages much the same. The distinction of right and wrong, no less than of matters of faith was to them a discerning of spirits. Let us imagine a community of prophets, agitated by every various spiritual impulse, yet remaining men of a common nature with ourselves, and liable

- 21 prophesyings. But¹ prove all things; hold fast that
 22 which is good; abstain from every kind* of evil.
 23 And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and
 may your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved
 blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
 24 Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it.
 25 Brethren, pray for us too.² Greet all the brethren
 26

¹ Omit but.

² Omit too.

to mistake merely physical effects for spiritual power; what extravagancies must have been the result, what mixed good and evil must have blended together under the name of the spirit! To separate and distinguish this among those who held the name of Christ, and yet may have sometimes mingled with it "the doctrines of devils," must have been the chief office of a discernor of spirits in the first century. It is this discernment of spirits that is partly spoken of in the words πάντα δοκιμάζετε.

22. ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους, *from every kind of evil.*] This is opposed to the previous clause, both together forming subdivisions of πάντα δοκιμάζετε, which is the closing precept: "Try all things; hold fast the good, abstain from evil." The antithesis is natural in a writer so fond of antithesis as St. Paul. Compare Rom. xii. 9—21. The punctuation of Lachmann is therefore preferable to that of the Textus Receptus, and of the Authorised Version.

εἶδος = *kind* rather than *appearance*, πονηροῦ, though without the article, is probably a substantive, as in Gen. ii. 9.

23. Still the Apostle is thinking of the coming of Christ,

against which he prays that they may be preserved, not only in soul and spirit, but in body. Had he a distinct thought attached to each of these words? Probably not. He is not writing a treatise on the soul, but pouring forth, from the fulness of his heart, a prayer for his converts. Language thus used should not be too closely analysed. His words may be compared to similar expressions among ourselves: *e. g.* "with my heart and soul." Who would distinguish between the two? Neither did the age in which St. Paul lived admit of any great accuracy in speaking of the human soul; nor does the fluctuating use of such terms in other parts of Scripture imply any precise or exact distinction. Who could define the difference between soul and spirit in the Alexandrian, scholastic, or any other philosophy? least of all should we attempt to do so in Scripture, which no more anticipates the metaphysical distinctions of later ages than their discoveries in astronomy or geology.

24. It is faithfulness on God's part that man perseveres to the end, and yet not unfaithfulness "if some do not believe" (Rom. iii. 3.).

τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πάντας ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ. ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς ²⁷
 τὸν κύριον, ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ¹
 ἀδελφοῖς.

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν.² ²⁸

¹ Add ἀγίοις.

² πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς πρώτη ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν.

27. A similar direction to this, viz., to interchange their own Epistle with that to the Laodiceans, is given to the Colossians (Col. iv. 16.). But why does St. Paul use such vehemence of lan-

guage? did he doubt the good faith of the rulers of the Church? was there some real occasion for a doubt? or was the expression "I conjure you by the Lord" a customary form with him? or is

27 with an holy kiss. I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the ¹ brethren.

28 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.²

¹ *Add* "holy."

² *Add* the first Epistle unto the Thessalonians was written from Athens.

it that he is not completely master of his words, or that they had not such force to him as they have to us? Whatever be the reason, the use of such an expression cannot be regarded as any

ground for doubting the genuineness of the Epistle, as the Apostle uses elsewhere strong forms of speech, where they appear to us unnecessary; as, for example, Gal. i. 20.

ON THE BELIEF IN THE COMING OF CHRIST IN THE APOSTOLICAL AGE.

“Neither shall they say, Lo here ! or, lo there ! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you” (Luke xvii. 21.).

THE belief in the near approach of the coming of Christ is spoken of or implied in almost every book of the New Testament ; in the discourses of our Lord himself, as well as in the Acts of the Apostles ; in the Epistles of St. Paul no less than in the Book of the Revelation. The remains of such a belief are discernible in the Montanism of the second century, which is separated by a scarcely definable line from the Church itself. Nor is there wanting in our own day a dim and meagre shadow of the same primitive faith, moving around, and sometimes within, the pale of our own communion. There are still those who argue, from the very lapse of time, that “now is their salvation nearer than when they believed.” All religious men have at times blended in their thoughts earth and heaven ; while there are some who have raised their passing feelings into a system of doctrinal truth, and have seemed to see in the temporary state of the first converts the type of Christian life in all ages.

The influence which this belief exercised on the beginnings of the Church, and the manner in which it is interwoven in the writings of the New Testament, render the consideration of it necessary for the right understanding of St. Paul’s Epistles. Yet it is a subject from which the interpreter of Scripture would gladly turn aside. For it seems as if he were compelled to allow “that St. Paul was mistaken, and that in support of his mistake he could appeal to the words of Christ himself.” Nothing can be plainer than the Apostle’s meaning ;

he says, that men living in his own day will be "caught up to meet the Lord in the air;" and yet, after eighteen centuries, the world is as it was. The language which is attributed in the Epistle of St. Peter to the unbelievers of that age has become the language of believers in our own: — "Since the fathers have fallen asleep, all things remain the same from the beginning." No one can now be looking daily for the visible coming of Christ any more than, in a land where nature is at rest, he would live in expectation of an earthquake. Not "the hardness of men's hearts," but the experience of eighteen hundred years has made it impossible, consistently with the laws of the human mind, that the belief of the first Christians should continue among ourselves.

Why, then, were the traces of such a belief permitted to appear in the New Testament? That is a question which we debate with ourselves the moment the difficulty is perceived, which receives various answers. There are some who say, "as a trial of our faith;" while others have recourse to the double senses of prophecy, to divide the past from the future, the day of judgment from the destruction of Jerusalem. Others cite its existence as a proof that the books of Scripture were compiled at a time when such a belief was still living, and this not without, but within the circle of the Church itself. It may be also regarded as an indication that we were not intended to interpret Scripture apart from the light of experience, or violently to bend life and truth into agreement with isolated texts. Lastly, so far as we can venture to move such a question of our Lord himself, we may observe that his teaching here, as in other places, is on a level with the modes of thought of his age, clothed in figures, as it must necessarily be, to express "the things that eye hath not seen," limited by time, as if to give the sense of reality to what otherwise would be vague and infinite, yet mysterious in this respect too, for of "that hour knoweth no man;" and that, however these figures of speech are explained, or these opposite aspects reconciled, their meaning, breaking through the horizon of earth, has been the stay and hope of the believer in all ages, who knows, nevertheless,

that the Apostles have passed away, and no "sign has yet appeared in the clouds," and that "the round world is set so fast that it cannot be moved."

The surprise that we naturally feel, when the attention is first called to this singular discrepancy between faith and experience, is greatly lessened, by our observing that even the language of Scripture is not free from inconsistency. For the words of our Lord Himself are not more in apparent contradiction with the course of events, than they are with other words which are equally attributed to Him by the Evangelists. He who says "This generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled," is the same as he who tells his disciples — "of that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels of God, nor the Son, but the Father." Is it reverent, or irreverent, to say that Christ knew what he himself declares that he did not know? Place, as well as time, is described in language equally uncertain. For Jerusalem is the scene of the coming events; and yet, "wherever the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together." And once again, in words which are for all time, the Saviour says, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo here, or, lo there, for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." The same uncertainty is faithfully reflected in the Epistles of St. Paul. For, at first, he is waiting for and hastening to the day of the Lord; then he anticipates a falling away; in the course of years he grows up into a higher truth, that "to depart and be with Christ is far better." Even in our own ways of thinking we may trace parallel inconsistencies. For at one time the kingdom of heaven seems to us to be beyond the stars, at another time to have its dwelling-place in the heart of man. Conceptions both of time and space become indistinct as we enter into the unseen world. Whether, "if God would make windows in heaven, this thing might be," we cannot tell. But neither Scripture nor reason allow us to pass the limits of our own faculties in the conception of another life.

But instead of regarding this or any other fact of Scripture as a difficulty to be explained away, it will be more instructive for us to

consider the nature of the belief and its probable effect on the infant communion. In its origin it was simple and childlike, the belief of men who saw but a little way into the purposes of Providence, who never dreamed of a vista of futurity. It was not what we should term an article of faith, but natural and necessary, flowing immediately out of the life and state of the earliest believers. It was the feeling of men who looked for the coming of Christ as we might look for the return of a lost friend, many of whom had seen him on earth, and could not believe that he was taken from them for ever. Those who remembered the Lord would often say one to another, "Yet a little while, and we do not see him; and again a little while, and we shall see him." And sometimes, as years rolled on, they would ask the question which they had once asked in his lifetime, "What was this that he said? we cannot tell what this was which he said." Let us imagine them, "with their lamps lighted and their loins girded," in the spirit of our Lord's discourses, waiting for his appearing. The night is far spent, the day is at hand; already they see the streaks of the morning light. And then again the light fails and fades; it was the light as of a distant city: the hour is not yet come; their own wishes had made them fancy it nearer than it was. Time passes; one by one the fathers fall asleep; at last, "a lingering star with lessening ray," the beloved Apostle, alone remains; — the saying goes forth "that that disciple should not die;" and the daylight indeed appears, but it is the light not of another world but of this.

So we may trace in a figure the thoughts of the first disciples respecting the coming of the Lord, towards whom they yearned, and the end of the world; the course of events silently rebuking them and saying, "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power." But the belief in the expectation of the coming of Christ has other aspects also which are equally interesting and important. It was the beginning of the church. It was the feeling of men who, in the language of St. Paul, were "baptized into one body and drunk of one spirit;" the kingdom of God creating itself in the heart of man, when, in modern language,

it was still an idea and not an outward institution, — the liquid ore, as it were, melted by the heavenly flame, but not cast in the mould. It was the feeling of men who had an intense sense of the change that had been wrought in themselves, and to whom this change seemed like the beginning of a greater change that was overflowing on the world around them. It was the feeling of men who looked back upon the past, of which they knew so little, and discerned in it the workings of the same spirit, one and continuous, which they felt in their own souls; to whom the world within and the world without were reflected upon one another, and the history of the Jewish race was a parable, an “open secret,” of the things to come. It was the feeling of men who were living not amid the aspirations of prophecy, but in the hour of its fulfilment; who clothed their own times in its glorious imagery; to whom the veil that was on the face of Moses was done away in Christ. It was the putting of the garment of the old dispensation upon the new. It was the feeling of men who were saying, Lord, how long? whom their own sufferings assured that there was a righteous judge who would not always delay. It was the feeling of men who were living far above and away from earth, in a spiritual kingdom, who scarcely thought either of the past or the future in the eternity of the present.

Let those who think this is an imaginary picture recall to mind and compare with Scripture, either what they may have read in books or experienced in themselves as the workings of a mind suddenly converted to the Gospel. Such an one seems to lose his measure of events and his true relation to the world. While other men are going on with their daily occupations, he only is out of sympathy with nature, and has fears and joys in himself, which he can neither communicate nor explain to his fellows. It is not that he is thinking of the endless ages in which he will partake of heavenly bliss; rather the present consciousness of sin, or the present sense of forgiveness and of peace in Christ, is already a sort of hell or heaven within him, which excludes the future. It is not that he has an increased insight into the original meaning of Scripture; rather

he seems to absorb Scripture into himself. Least of all have persons in such a state of mind distinct or accurate conceptions of the world to come. The images in which they express themselves are carnal and visible, often inconsistent with each other, scarcely intelligible to minds which are not in sympathy with them, yet not the less the realisation to them of a true and lively faith. The last thing that they desire, or could comprehend, is an intellectual theory of another life. They seem hardly to need either statements of doctrine or the religious ministrations of others; their concern is with God only.

Substitute now for a single individual, the three thousand who were converted on the day of Pentecost, the "multitude of Jews that believed, zealous for the law;" conceive them changed at the same instant by one spirit, and we seem to see on a larger scale the same effects following. Their conversion is an exception to the course of nature; itself a revelation and inspiration, a wonder of which they can give no account to themselves or others, not the least wonderful part of which is their communion with one another. The same Divine power, which originally formed men into nations, forms them into a church now, and almost literally gives them a new language and a new speech. They come into being with common hopes and fears, at one with each other, separated from mankind at large, in new relations to their own country and kindred. They see God looking upon themselves and other men, not, as heretofore, "winking at the times of that ignorance," but distinctly conscious of all their acts. What they feel within themselves spreads itself over the world. All men are in the presence of God: good and evil quicken into life beneath His searching eye; there is a fellowship of the saints on one side, and a mystery of iniquity on the other. They do not read history, or comprehend the sort of imperfect necessity under which men act as creatures of their age. The same guilt which they acknowledge in themselves, they attach to other men; the same judgment which would await them, is awaiting the world everywhere. In the events around them, in their own sufferings, in their daily life, they see the preparations for the great conflict between good

and evil, between Christ and Belial, if, indeed, it be not already begun. The circle of their own life includes in it the destinies of the human race itself, of which it is, as it were, the microcosm, seen by the eye of faith and the light of inward experience. This is what the law and the prophets seem to them to have meant when they spoke of God's judgments on his enemies, of the Lord coming with ten thousand of his saints. And the signs which were to accompany these things are already seen among them, "not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Spirit, and in much assurance."

To us the preaching of the Gospel is a new beginning, from which we date all things, beyond which we neither desire nor are able to inquire. To the first believers it was otherwise; not the beginning of a new world, but the end of a former one. They looked back to the past, because the veil of the future was not yet lifted up. They were living in "the latter days," the confluence of all times, the meeting-point of the purposes of God. They read all things in the light of the approaching end of the world. They were not taught, and could not have imagined, that for eighteen centuries servants of God should continue on the earth, waiting, like themselves, for the promise of His coming. They were not taught, and could not have imagined, that after three centuries the Church, which they saw poverty-stricken and persecuted, should be the mistress of the earth, and that, in another sense than they had hoped, the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ. Instead of it they beheld in a figure the heavens opening, and the angels of God ascending and descending; the present outpouring of the Spirit, and the evil and perplexity of the world itself, being the earnest of the things which were shortly to come to pass.

It has been often remarked, that the belief in the coming of Christ stood in the same relation to the Apostolic Church that the expectation of death does to ourselves. Certainly the absence of exhortations based upon the shortness of life, which are not unfrequent in the Old Testament, and are so familiar to our own day, forms a remarkable feature in the writings of the New Testament, and in a measure seems

to confirm such an opinion. And yet the similarity is rather apparent than real; or, at any rate, the difference between the two is not less remarkable. For the feeble apprehension which each man entertains of his own mortality, can bear no comparison with that living sense of the day of the Lord which was the habitual thought of the first Christians, which was not so much a "coming" as a "presence" to them, as its very name implied (*παρουσία*). How different also was the event looked for, no less than the anticipation of it! There is nothing terrible in death; it is the repose of wearied nature; it steals men away one by one, while the world goes still on its way. We fear it at a distance, but not near. Only in youth sometimes it seems hard to die; the language of old men is, "I have lived long enough." But the day of the Lord was an inversion of the course of nature; it was a change, not to the individual only, but to the world; a scene of great fear and great joy at once to the whole Church and to all mankind, which was in its very nature sudden, unexpected, coming "as a thief in the night, and as travail upon a woman with child." Yet it might be said to be expected too, for the first disciples were sitting waiting for it "with their lamps lighted and their loins girded." It was not darkness, nor sleep, nor death, but a day of light and life, in the expectation of which men were to walk as children of the light, yet fearful by its very suddenness and the vengeance to be poured on the wicked.

Such a belief could not be without its effect on the lives of the first converts and on the state of the Church. While it increased the awfulness of life, it almost unavoidably withdrew men's thoughts from its ordinary duties. It naturally led to the state described in the Corinthian Church, in which spiritual gifts had taken the place of moral duties, and of those very gifts, the less spiritual were preferred to the more spiritual. It took the mind away from the kingdom of God within, to fix it on signs and wonders, "the things spoken of by the prophet Joel," when the sun should be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood. It made men almost ready to act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, from the sense of what they

saw, or seemed to see, in the world around them. The intensity of the spiritual state in which they lived, so far beyond that of our daily life, is itself the explanation of the spiritual disorder which seems so strange to us in men who were ready to hazard their lives for the truth, and which was but the natural reaction against their former state.

It is obvious that such a belief was inconsistent with an established Ecclesiastical order. A succession of bishops could have had no meaning in a world that was to vanish away. Episcopacy, it has been truly remarked, was in natural antagonism to Montanism; and in the age of the Apostles as well, there is an opposition, traceable in the Epistles themselves, between the supernatural gifts and the order and discipline of the Church. Ecclesiastical as well as political institutions are not made, but grow. What we are apt to regard as their first idea and design, is in reality their after development, what in the fulness of time they become, not what they originally were, the former being faintly, if at all, discernible in the new birth of the Church and of the world.

Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the meagreness of those historical memorials of the first age which survived it, has been the result of such a belief. What interest would be attached to the events of this world, if they were so soon to be lost in another? or to the lessons of history, when the nations of the earth were in a few years to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ? Even the narrative of the acts and sayings of the Saviour of mankind must have had a different degree of importance to those who expected to see with their eyes the Word of life, and to us, to whom they are the great example, for after ages, of faith and practice. Among many causes which may be assigned for the great historical chasm which separates the life of Christ and his Apostles from after ages, this is not the least probable. The age of the Apostles was an age, not of history, but of prophecy.

Passages in St. Paul's other Epistles bearing on the Belief in the Coming of Christ.

1 Cor. i. 7, 8. So that ye came behind in no gift ; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ : who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

iii. 13. Every man's work shall be made manifest : for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire ; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. (?)

iv. 5. Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come. (?)

vi. 2. Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world ?

vii. 29—31. But this I say, brethren, the time is short : it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none ; and they that weep, as though they wept not ; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not ; and they that buy, as though they possessed not ; and they that use this world, as not abusing it ; for the fashion of this world passeth away.

x. 11. Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples : and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

xv. 12. Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead ?

51. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. *Compare Lachmann* :—We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed.

2 Cor. i. 14. We are your rejoicing, even as ye also are our's in the day of the Lord Jesus.

iii. 18. But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

2 Cor. v. 1—10. For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not

made with hands, eternal in the heavens Therefore, we are always confident, knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord: (for we walk by faith, not by sight:) we are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord. Wherefore we labour that, whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him. For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Rom. ii. 15, 16. Their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another; in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.

xiii. 11, 12. And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.

Eph. i. 3. Blessed be the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.

ii. 4—6. But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

iv. 30. And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.

Philipp. i. 23. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better.

iii. 11. If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.

20, 21. For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile

body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

iv. 5. The Lord is at hand.

Col. i. 5. For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel.

12, 13. Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light: who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son.

And now "the fathers have fallen asleep, all things remain the same as at the beginning." More clearly than in former times, we see the discrepancy between the meaning of Scripture and the order of events which history discloses to us. The fact stares us in the face. We feel no satisfaction or security in attempting to conceal it; we cannot do so if we would. It is right, therefore, that we should be assured, that even if the apostles were mistaken, "our faith" is not "vain." Our hope of life and immortality is not taken away, because the language of St. Paul in some passages seems to fix the times and the seasons which our Saviour, in his last words on earth, tells his Apostles, "it is not for you to know."

The subject of the preceding essay may be considered apologetically; that is, with a view to meet objections in two ways—either as affecting theology, or belief and practice.

I. Most of the difficulties of theology are self-made, and ready to vanish away when we consider them naturally. They generally arise out of certain hypotheses which we vainly try to reconcile with obvious facts; often they are the opinions of a past day lingering on into the present. The belief of St. Paul in the immediate coming of Christ is not at all different from what we should have expected, or in any degree inconsistent with the laws of the human mind, or, again, unlike the analogy of prophecy and of religion generally. It

was a natural interpretation of the old prophetic writings. Our difficulty is really of a different kind—how to reconcile such a belief with the infallibility of the Apostle. He never claims this infallibility; it is we ourselves who love to ascribe it to him. It is true that the Apostle, if infallible, could not have erred respecting the end of the world; and if we could prove that he was infallible, we might deny that he was in error. But the ascription of infallibility to him involves further and almost endless difficulties. For it seems, to use an expression of Bishop Butler's, as if "there would be no stopping," until revelation was wholly different from what it is. Its truths should no longer be expressed in human language, or under the limitation of human faculties; they must have dropped from heaven; that is, have found their way into the world out of the course of nature, unconnected with history, in no relation to the thoughts of men, and therefore powerless to assimilate the human heart to themselves.

Not in this way has it "pleased God to reveal his Son in us." The New Testament came through the Old; it did not rudely break with the former Dispensation. It appropriated the figures of the law, it clothed itself in the imagery of the prophets. It was preached to the poor, and therefore it was on a level with the modes of thought which prevailed in the age in which it was given. It is foolish to admit this in words, and to deny the inferences which unavoidably flow from it. The lesson which it taught was pure and divine, and so far as it was connected at all with facts of history, historically true: but it was not supernaturally guarded against error. It left the Jewish belief in Messiah's kingdom as it had been before; only it purified, sanctified, spiritualised it. Herein is the great difference between what, without detracting from the divine character of Christianity, we may be permitted to call the error of the Apostles and erroneous assumptions of modern interpreters of prophecy respecting the end of the world. The first was natural, arising out of the circumstances and modes of thought of the first Christians; the other is an intrusion into

the unseen future, which experience has shown to be irreverent and unmeaning. The difference is of the same kind as between voluntary error and the unavoidable imperfection of human knowledge in a particular age or country.

But neither is the New Testament to be interpreted apart from the course of events. The world is left to itself to clear up as it goes on ; many lessons even in divinity are only learnt by experience. Time may often enlarge faith ; it may also correct it. The belief and practice of the early Church, respecting the admission of the Gentiles, were greatly altered by the fact that the Gentiles themselves flocked in : "the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and the violent took it by force." In like manner, the faith respecting the coming of Christ was modified by the continuance of the world itself. Common sense suggests that those who were in the first ecstasy of conversion, and those who after the lapse of years saw the world unchanged and the fabric of the Church on earth rising around them, could not regard the day of the Lord with the same feelings. While to the one it seemed near and present, at any moment ready to burst forth ; to the other it was a long way off, separated by time, and as it were by place, a world beyond the stars, yet also having its dwelling in the heart of man : as to ourselves, it is a world inseparably bound up with our consciousness of a Divine Being. Not at once, but gradually did the cloud clear up, and the one mode of faith take the place of the other. Apart from the prophets, through them, beyond them, springing up in a new and living way in the soul of man, corrected by long experience, as "the fathers" one by one "fell asleep," as the hope of the Jewish race declined, as ecstatic gifts ceased, as a regular hierarchy was established in the Church, the belief in the coming of Christ was transformed from being outward to becoming inward, from being national to becoming individual and universal, from being Jewish to becoming Christian.

II. It would be a serious error to rest our belief in a future life or judgment to come on those expressions of our Saviour or of

St. Paul, which, as we are taught by time, have not received a literal fulfilment. An argument is sometimes used as a sort of lever to force our assent to the letter of Scripture, or of Church teaching, when it is too plain that the letter kills. The argument is of this kind; it seeks to connect what is accidental and superficial with what is essential, in the hope that we may be compelled to accept both from the fear of rejecting both: "Believe this, believe also that; if you do not believe that, you cannot believe this." Such an argument we may conceive, in reference to our present subject, taking the following form; it would say, "If you will not believe literally that we shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, why believe that we shall be judged at all? If the Apostle erred respecting the time of Christ's coming, might he not have erred also respecting the fact of his coming?" So it is thought that we shall be won back again to consider the question by such lights only as tradition or authority supply, and prudently keep away from the letter of the text.

No doubt it would be possible to draw, from the storehouse of metaphysical theology, distinctions and modes of expression which would "skin" or conceal the weak place. It might be said that the words of St. Paul had an ideal or symbolical meaning — that they become true to the individual as he passes out of life — that to the religious mind the end of the world is ever going — "*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.*" The matter has been stated here without any of these attempts at disguise or concealment. Does it therefore follow that our life is really bounded by the horizon of earth? or that the belief in a world to come has passed away, because the language in which St. Paul described it, is seen to be taken from Jewish prophecy?

The belief in a future life is not derived from revelation, though greatly strengthened by it. It is the growing sense of human nature respecting itself. Scarcely any one passes out of existence fearing that he will cease to be; perhaps no one whose mind may be regarded as in a natural state. Absurd superstitions, even the painful

efforts to get rid of self, in some of the Eastern religions, indirectly bear witness to the same truth. They seem to say, "Stamp upon the Soul, crush it as you will, the poor worm will still creep out into the sunshine of the Almighty." Nor is the consciousness of another life a mere instinct which, however distorted, still remains: to those who reason it is inseparably connected with our highest, that is, with our moral notions. We feel that God cannot have given us capacities and affections, that they should find no other fulfilment than they attain here; that he cannot intend the unequal measure of good and evil which he has assigned to men on earth to be the end of all: nor can we believe that the crimes or sins which go unpunished in this world, are to pass away as though they had never been; that the cries of saints and heroes, and the work of the Saviour himself, have gone up unheard before his throne. That can never be. Equally impossible is it to suppose that creatures whom he has endowed with reason are, like the great multitude of the human race, to be sunk for ever in hopeless ignorance and unconsciousness. It is true that the nature of the change which is to come over them and us is not disclosed: "The times and the seasons the Father has put in his own power." Had it been otherwise, immortality must have overpowered us; the thought of another state would have swallowed up this.

And this sense of a future life and judgment to come has been so quickened in us by Christianity, that it may be said almost to have been created by it. It is the witness of Christ himself, than which to the Christian no assurance can be greater. He who meditates on this divine life in the brief narrative which has been preserved of it, will find the belief in another world come again to him when many physical and metaphysical proofs are beginning to be as broken reeds. He will find more than enough to balance the difficulties of the manner "how" or the time "when;" he will find, as he draws nearer to Christ, a sort of impossibility of believing otherwise. When we ask, "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come," St. Paul answers, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not

quickened except it die ; ” when we raise objections to the narrative which has been preserved of our Saviour’s discourse respecting the last things and the end of the world, may not the answer to this as well as to many other difficulties be gathered from his own words — “ It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing ; the words that I speak unto you they are Spirit, and they are truth ? ”

There was a sense in which our Saviour said that it was better for his disciples that he should be taken from them, that the Comforter should come unto them. There is also a blessing recorded in the Gospels on those who had not seen and yet had believed. Is there not a sense in which it is more blessed to live at a distance from those events which are the beginning of Christianity, than under their immediate influence, to see them as they truly are in the light of this world as well as of another ? If it was an illusion in the first Christians to believe in the immediate coming of Christ, is it not a cause of thankfulness that now we see clearly ? Of truth, as well as of love, it may be said there is no fear in truth, but perfect truth casteth out fear. The eye which is strong enough to pierce through the shadow of death, is not troubled because the golden mist is dispelled and it looks on the open heaven.

And though prophecy may fail and tongues cease, though to those who look back upon them when they are with the past, they are different from what they were to those who melted under their influence, the pure moral and spiritual nature of Christianity, the “ kingdom of God within,” remains as at the first, the law of Christian love becoming more and more, and all in all.

IS IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SAME WORD TO HAVE TWO
MEANINGS IN THE SAME PASSAGE ?

Note on 1 Thess. ii. 2.; 1 Cor. ii. 10—16.; Rom. vii. 9—viii. 3., viii. 19—22., and other places.

THE word *ἀγων*, in 1 Thessalonians, ii. 2., has been variously explained of the inward conflict and of the outward persecution which the Apostle underwent in preaching the Gospel at Thessalonica. Reasons are adduced from the context, and from the use of the word in other places, in favour of either interpretation. The opinions of commentators may be urged on both sides of the question. In the next verse a doubt of the same kind occurs respecting another word, *παράκλησις*, which here, as *παρακαλεῖν*, in iii. 2. and elsewhere, admits the sense either of consolation or exhortation. The observation of these and similar instances leads to the general inquiry, whether it is possible for the same Greek word to have two meanings in the same passage—the one primary, the other secondary; the one expressed, the other implied; the one presenting itself in front, the other not far behind?—whether, instead of saying “it must mean this or that,” it may not be reasonable also to include both senses, either because the word which is the subject of controversy has no corresponding term in another language, or because it is not defined by use, or because the idea which it is intended to convey may be incapable of being described with perfect accuracy and clearness?

The inquiry here suggested is of considerable importance in the interpretation of the New Testament. Though it relates only to a small class of words, those words are characteristic ones and of common occurrence; such are, *ζωή* (Life), *θανατός* (Death), *ἡμέρα* (the Day), *κτίσις* (Creature), *πνεῦμα* (the Spirit), *κύριος* (the Lord), *παράκλητος* (the Comforter), and, above all, *νόμος* (the Law). The

word *ἀγών* (Contention), already quoted from 1 Thess. ii. 2., and *πεπληρωμένοι*, in Rom. xv. 19., afford lesser examples of the same indefinite or uncertain use.

This uncertainty in the meaning of words is not confined to the New Testament. Similar instances may be remarked in modern languages and also in classical writers. If a statesman were to say, in writing to a friend of some political measure which was the crisis of his fate, "that it was a great struggle," he might mean a great struggle to himself and to his own feelings, or a great struggle of parties or opinions; it might have been also a struggle in which violence had been resorted to. It is possible that all these three associations were passing through his mind at the time he wrote down the word. Some light might be thrown by the context of the sentence, or by other parts of the letter, on the true sense. But language is not always used with the degree of exactness necessary in such cases to enable us to determine the meaning or associations of meaning which the writer had in his mind. Probably a critical analysis of the words would only lead to the conviction that the person who used them was not distinctly conscious of their import to himself.

An illustration from a modern writer will throw some further light on the nature of the question which is here raised. The author of the "Fragment on Government" criticises the confusion into which Blackstone has fallen respecting words such as "Society," "State of Nature," and others, which he affirms his opponent to have used in different senses in the same paragraph. Yet the ordinary reader would not have discovered this. To a mind not under the influence of an "illogical logic," Blackstone appears to be in the right, and his critic in the wrong, because the latter has not allowed for that natural play of language which conducts us from one aspect of a complex idea to another. He is busy pulling to pieces the several expressions, when he ought to be content with the substantial meaning of a whole passage. He exacts more of words than they are able to bear. He would have language perfect in the logical sense,

in the attempt to accomplish which, he loses more than he gains, by losing its poetical element. Logic ruling absolutely over style and thought, the imagination and feelings would be dried up into the understanding. The words denoting our higher ideas would lose their associations; and the ideas which are denoted by them be reduced to the dead level of objects of sense. St. Paul himself could only be regarded as an illogical writer, whose leading terms "chop and change" their significations, whose train of thought cannot be reduced to syllogisms, whose bursts of affection are not "logical propositions."

Variations of meaning may be observed to be greater than usual in certain classes of words and in particular stages of language or of philosophy. The student of the Ethics of Aristotle has often been puzzled with the numerous senses of the words ἀρχή, τέλος, τοῦς, αἰσθησεις, σοφία, δύναμις, φύσις, σύνεσις, and others. He attempts in vain to introduce order and fixedness into the flux of meaning. He feels that no English term is equivalent to any of them. The fact is that philosophy is creating their meaning; they are in various stages of the transition from common use to a technical signification. Some of them die out — (ethical science is afterwards found to have made, or rather borrowed, more words than it wants) — others pass into the philosophical language of Greece, and are carried down the stream of human thought. Aristotle himself would have found the same difficulty that we do in explaining their meaning in the terms of other systems or of later times. They are a part of his mind; he is not above them, but in them. The great master of metaphysics is under the influence of language, while organising it for his use.

Owing partly to the decline of the Greek language itself, as well as to the imperfect command over it possessed by the writers of the Epistles, the variation in their use of terms is greater and more striking than in classical writers. The instrument is more inadequate to the greatness and novelty of the thought; the expression more tentative, and therefore more uncertain. The life of words which "is not quickened except it die," becomes a conducting

medium from one Dispensation to another; the Gospels and the Epistles are the translation of the law and the prophets. Merely in a philological point of view this is extremely curious. Many obscure significations of terms are thus drawn out; chance phrases have a new light thrown upon them; the Spiritual world is peopled with material images which are not wholly "transfigured," but retain also their first material notion. Language is growing, winning for itself a meaning. The phenomenon which has been just described in the history of Greek philosophy may help us to understand the still more remarkable development to which the Gospel gave birth. Only in this latter case it was not a philosopher, the force of whose mind stamped a new impress on the counters of knowledge, but apostles and prophets, who poured out the faith of Christ among the common people. It might be said of the first believers, in another sense from that in which the text is commonly applied, that "they spake with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." Their mind was changed, and that framework of the mind which language is, adapted itself to the change. Common terms passed out of received uses into higher and spiritual ones; they became inspired, sanctified, glorified. Imagine, first, the conversion of St. Paul, the intellect as well as the heart melting under the influence of the revelation which he had received; imagine such an one with a scanty knowledge of Greek, deriving something from the philosophy of his time, but much more from the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures, striving to express the unutterable things which he knew and felt: you have before you, as it were in process of creation, the germ of the theological diction of after ages.

As it is in vain to look for a regular order of government during the first half century after Christ, it would be a mistake also to expect that the language in which the Gospel was first uttered had a perfectly fixed and settled meaning. The age of the Epistles of St. Paul might be described as the age before system, in which there was no rite or usage to which words conformed any more than institutions. This is one of the many points in which we

would fain imagine the first century more like ourselves than it really was. We have a difficulty in conceiving a beginning of the Christian society, or the mind of Christ in his first followers; and we ascribe to the fluctuating elements the definite form which they could only have received from use and tradition. The same error reappears in another sphere, in the fixedness which is attributed to words when employed for the first time in Christian senses. For language itself also partakes of the plastic nature of the New Creation. It is relative to the first believers. Listening multitudes hung upon the lips of the first teachers without stopping to distinguish the application of terms from their original sense, or figures from realities. Much of the comparative inaccuracy of spoken discourse has passed into the written word also. The Apostle St. Paul often uses the terms *ζωή*, *θάνατος*, *ἡμέρα*, in such a way that it is hard to say where the figure ends, and the meaning of the figure begins; or he employs general, where we should expect specific words; or specific, where we should expect general; or he places a connecting particle in such a double relation, that we are uncertain whether it refers to what precedes, or to what follows, and incline sometimes to think that both constructions were intended. His love of "parallels and conjugates," and antitheses, leads him to make distinctions where there is apparently no difference, or to identify terms which we should naturally distinguish. Two or three favourite words he plays upon as though he could never have enough of them; their original idea is almost allowed to evanesce in the transpositions which they are made to undergo. The want of an expression often occasions the repetition of an old one, the echo of which was ringing in his ears from a previous verse, where perfect clearness would have required a new term for a new idea. Another source of uncertainty is the continuance of the old or common meaning of a word side by side with the higher or ideal one, the latter, too, being susceptible of several gradations, as in the word *ρόμος*, which are almost indistinguishable from one another. No doubt these difficulties are increased by the uses of theological terms in later times, which

often slightly (or even considerably) vary from the use of the same terms in Scripture, and which, even where they are in general the same, have this difference, that they are more narrowed and fixed than in the Scriptural use. For example, many as appear to be the senses or applications of the word "law" in St. Paul, we may observe in modern Calvinist divines a meaning which is different from them all, and which is used with great preciseness. Nor must one other source of confusion be omitted, a sufficiently obvious one, yet often forgotten—the difference between Greek and English; some words which have one consistent meaning in the Greek appearing to have two meanings in English even in the same passage, because the Greek word has no single corresponding English one. The numerous significations which are attributed to a word in a lexicon to the New Testament are commonly more than the truth and less; that is, they add on associations which are not contained in it, while it is impossible for them to give a conception of its unity and sphere. The ease and absolute certainty with which we translate words describing objects of sense from a dead language into a living one, must not lead us to imagine that we can have equal certainty, whether in philosophy or religion, in representing the things "which eye hath not seen."

The first causes of this fluctuation of meaning are peculiar to the New Testament, and arise out of the circumstances of its authors: the last-mentioned difficulty is common to the interpretation of particular classes of words in all dead languages. Even the scholar finds it an endless task to put his mind back as a "little child" into the position of the Greek. It remains to show by examples that the uncertainty spoken of is not an imaginary phenomenon, but a real one, and, if so, an important element in the interpretation of Scripture.

And first as to the fact (compare Rom. vii. 21.—viii. 3.):—

"I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is

in my members. O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin. There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh."

It would be impossible exactly to define all the modifications of meaning which the word law undergoes in this passage : in ver. 21., according to the most probable explanation, it is used for a rule, or, as we should say, universal fact ; in ver. 22, 23., for the law of God, with an allusion to the law of Moses ; also for the necessary force of evil ; in ver. 23., a distinction in its meaning is aimed at where it is hard to see a difference ; in viii. 2., it is used for the rule or rather power of the Gospel ; in viii. 3., probably for the Jewish law only, as certainly in vii. 1. Compare also the paronomasia of the "Law of Faith," in iii. 27. Which of them would the Apostle have adopted as the original signification ? Doubtless the law of Moses ; yet he would not have been conscious of all the inflections of meaning through which he had allowed the word to pass. Nor would he, or those to whom he is writing, have understood our difficulty in understanding him.

It is true that many English words, such as "law, church, principle, constitution, society, nature," might go through several changes of meaning in the same chapter or section of a book. We might speak of a good principle, or of a principle of action, or of nature in the sense of a higher or lower nature, or of the Church in the sense of the Church visible or invisible. But the use of language in the passage of the Epistle exceeds these bounds : whatever play or inaccuracy of phraseology may be allowed among ourselves, we should not describe "the law of England" and "the law of nature"

under the same general term "the law" in the same passage; at any rate, the connexion would clearly mark that we were speaking of two laws, not of one. Nor, if the particular term "law of England" had preceded, should we use the general term law in a new connexion in the next sentence, as the Apostle appears to have done in Rom. viii. 2, 3., where he speaks first of "the law of sin and death," and then of "the law" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, in the next verse. And although some of the instances quoted appear at first sight like the application of a general term to a new subject, yet the application is so peculiar as to amount to a variation of meaning. No similar application of the word *νόμος* could have occurred in classical Greek.

Two other instances—one of latitude in the signification of the same words, the other, illustrative of the same uncertainty of different words with the same meaning—occur also in Romans, viii.

19—23. "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope. Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they, but ourselves also," etc.

Here the word "creature" has had many meanings assigned to it by interpreters, and has really more than one. It may refer to the creature considered from within, in which sense it is a personified human nature, which is the best explanation of it in ver. 19.; or to the creature considered from without, as the figure of a former dispensation, which is the sense to which it inclines in ver. 20, 21.; or to the creation collectively, in the idea of which man has nevertheless the principal part, as in ver. 22. That this last, however, is not to be pressed too strictly, may be inferred from ver. 23., in which the believer is spoken of, from another point of view, as distinct from the previous circle, which included, or seemed to include, all the world.

9—11. "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that

the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ *be* in you, the body *is* dead because of sin; but the Spirit *is* life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you."

Here the Spirit of God is first spoken of as dwelling in man; then the spirit of Christ takes its place; then in v. 10. a further transition is made from the Spirit of Christ to Christ himself, and in ver. 11., we return to the Spirit of God, that is, "of him who raised up Jesus from the dead;" as if, in the Apostle's mind, the difference of expression was nothing, or at least only served to describe the different aspects of the same idea. Compare 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12., for a similar uncertainty in the use of the word *κύριος*.

Another remarkable instance of fluctuation or transition of meaning occurs in 1 Cor. ii. 10—16., where the Spirit of God, which searcheth all things, is afterwards spoken of as the Spirit in the heart of man, the possession of which by those who are Spiritual enables them to judge all men. Compare Romans, viii. 26, 27. ["Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what *is* the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God."], where the Spirit is also described as crying through us to God.

Language like this would hardly be used by a modern preacher or writer. He would speak of the Spirit dwelling in the heart of man, or a man praying to God by the help of the Spirit, or of the Spirit praying for man, but he would not blend in one the acts of the Spirit and the acts of man.

Another example touching a different circle of ideas occurs in 1 Corinthians, xv. 55. When it is said "the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law," the connexion of the previous verses shows that death is to be taken literally; and yet death,

with which sin is connected in other places, as in Romans, vii. 5. 11—13., is not temporal but spiritual death. Compare 2 Cor. v. 14. : “If one died for all, then all died,” where the word died is applied to Christ in one sense, to mankind in general in another. So in Rom vi. 1—9., the idea of resurrection is blended with that of renewal.

The passage of St. John’s Gospel, v. 20—28., in which the resurrection is spoken of in terms which imply a spiritual resurrection, and then again most clearly a literal one, and the second sense in which the word Comforter is used, as the Spirit of truth who “shall guide men into all truth,” are additional illustrations of the same subject. (John xiv.—xviii.)

Altogether the ambiguities or double senses of words in the Epistles may be arranged under the following heads:—

1. Words in themselves unambiguous, which nevertheless become ambiguous in a particular context, either from their indefiniteness or from the associations which intrude upon them from the connexion or from their use in other passages.

Instances of this class are *ἀγων*, in 1 Thess. ii. 2.; *πεπληρωμένοι*, in Rom. xv. 19.; *εὐαγγέλιον*, Rom. i. 9.; *θνητός*, in Rom. vi. 12.; *σῶμα*, in 1 Cor. xi. 29., Rom. vii. 4., Col. ii. 16—23.; *κῆρυμα*, in Rom. xiii. 2; *κρίνω*, in Rom. xiv. 13.; *ἀπαρχή*, Rom. xi. 16.; *ζῆν*, Rom. xiv. 5.; *κλησις*, 1 Cor. vii. 20.; *πίστις*, 1 Cor. xii. 9. Some of these may be termed “growing words,” that is, words which have not yet attained a fixed use in the Christian vocabulary.

2. Words which have no precise or even near exponents in English, which fall asunder into two English words, and the sphere of which includes ideas which are distinct to us, yet to the mind of the first disciples nearly equivalent and closely connected. Instances of this class of words are *παρακαλέω* and its derivatives, *διαθήκη*, *παρουσία*, *τέλος*, *αἶων*, *ἔθνη*, and probably *πλεονεξία*.

3. Words like *νόμος* or *ἐπίστις*, which pass through many meanings “in quick succession of light;” these meanings are, however, so closely connected that the transition from one to the other is often unconscious.

4. Words like ζωή, θάνατος, ἡμέρα, πνεῦμα, in the use of which two ideas, really distinct and having only a metaphorical connexion, are blended in the writer's mind, as, for example, temporal life and death with spiritual life and death, or renewal with resurrection.

These ambiguities are not an occasion of any real or great uncertainty in the Apostle's meaning. No one can doubt that he held sin to be the source of moral evil in the world, or that in a literal sense he believed in the resurrection. But his double use of words requires that we should interpret his Epistles in a large and liberal spirit. We cannot restrict him to the rules of the Aristotelian logic. The observation of this phenomenon, instead of inflicting an injury, is really of great benefit in the interpretation of Scripture; for it fixes our thoughts on the general meaning, and withdraws them from remote and uncertain conclusions based upon an over-minute analysis of the letter of the text.

"It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching," says the Apostle, "to save them that believe." It pleased God, we may say, in broken words and hesitating forms of speech, with no beauty or comeliness of style, to give a rule of life, not for one nation only, but for all mankind,—not for the refined thinker only, but for the poorest and meanest,—to reveal a truth of which the Greek was unconscious, and for which the language of Plato would have been no fitting temple.

SECOND EPISTLE
TO
THE THESSALONIANS.

THE

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Second Epistle to the Thessalonians may be regarded in two points of view:—(1.) as continuing the First Epistle; (2.) as diverging from it, and in one respect forming a link of transition to the later Epistles. It defers the Advent of Christ, and yet presents a more vivid and detailed account of the manner and circumstances of it. More fully in the Apostle's mind, he seems to remove it further from him, the nearer objects intercepting the more distant future. He sees the vision of "the things that are shortly to come to pass," through the symbols of the old prophets; not, however, as in the Book of Revelation, in an extended picture with many divisions and compartments, but with one scene only,—the rise and fall of Antichrist. When the hindrances of Antichrist are taken away, when Antichrist himself has come, then, and not till then, the Lord shall be revealed.

It was thought by Grotius, and it is also the opinion of Ewald, that what is termed the Second Epistle must have preceded the First. The best arguments by which this opinion can be defended, are the references in the Second Epistle to the teaching of the Apostle while "he was yet with them," and the absence of any allusions to the First Epistle. (See note on ch. ii. 2.) These grounds are far from being conclusive. It is improbable (observe, however, 2 Thess. ii. 15.) that a previous Epistle could have interposed

itself between the visit of the Apostle and chapters two and three of the First Epistle. (Compare Acts, xvii., xviii.) The allusions to the conversion of the Thessalonians also mark the First Epistle as commonly received to be the earlier of the two. But the opinion, though probably an error, may serve to remind us that, in one sense the Second Epistle anticipates the first; that is to say, it is based on the lesson which the Apostle had taught the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them, ii. 5. The subject of Antichrist was not new to them; they had been told who was meant, and what withheld him now, that he should be revealed in his own time. Whereas, in the former Epistle, he had led their minds exclusively to the heavenly vision, "the saints meeting in the air with Christ, and the dead whom he would bring with him."

Something like a definite object is indicated in the second chapter of the Epistle. That object seems to have been to inform the converts, or rather to remind them of what they already knew, respecting the coming of Christ and the previous revelation of Antichrist, and "that which let." It might, indeed, be questioned here, as in Rom. ix. to xi. compared with i.—viii., whether the first chapter is introductory to the second, or the second supplementary to the first. But the particularity of the second chapter, and the nearness of that "which already worketh," as well as the earnestness of the Apostle's language, tend to show that what is in form subordinate, is really the centre of the Epistle. As in 1 Cor. x., the thought which is nearest the Apostle's heart is overlaid with what is merely introductory to it.

But whether there is or is not any doubt about the primary object of the Epistle, the mind and feelings with which the Apostle wrote are plainly impressed upon it, and hardly less so the state of the Church to which it was addressed. The aspect in which the Gospel presented itself to the Apostle, was not unlike that in which it was described by John the Baptist: "He shall burn up the chaff with fire unquenchable." Within the Church it might be possible to think only of the elect, whose prayers and hopes seemed to bring the day

of the Lord nearer and nearer, until the horizon of earth melted away in the clouds of heaven. But it was impossible to turn away the sight from the aspect of the world itself, especially that portion of it which was on the confines of the Church, whether the Jewish persecutors, who harassed the Apostle in every city, "who pleased not God, and were contrary to man," or the wild forms of heresy or licentiousness which at one moment seemed to set themselves with giant force to arrest his course; at another time, by seductive influences to steal away the hearts of his converts. In the distance, too, were the heathen world mingling in the vision of sin; ripe for the revelation of wrath, no less than for the revelation of mercy. (Compare Rom. i. 8.)

The whole of the Epistle, like the Epistles of the imprisonment, is written under what may be termed "the feeling of persecution;" that is to say, the sense of resignation, on the one hand, to the present will of God; on the other hand, a sure and certain hope that "times of refreshment" were at hand. Such was the feeling of the Apostle himself, and he implies the existence of a similar feeling in the Church to which he was writing. Sadness and consolation, hope and fear, the array of glory and of terror, were present with them or passing before them. They were not living the common life of other men; they did not see with the eyes of other men.

A life thus divided between this world and another was naturally liable to become a life of excitement and disorder. Times of persecution needed extraordinary religious supports; the withdrawal of those supports, the momentary clouding of the heaven above, would from time to time lead to reaction. Those who sat "waiting for the day of the Lord," and in this very expectation perhaps neglecting their employments, had lost that quietness of mind which is given by daily occupation. The perils of such a state were not unknown to the Apostle. It might at any time pass into its opposite, the very good that was in it becoming only material for evil. Half organised as the Church was then, the only means of avoiding such dangers was to withdraw from the disorderly, in the hope that

the shunning of their society might have a moral influence on them. And yet even this gentle discipline must be exercised with moderation, in the remembrance that a brother was a brother still. More urgently, and as a lesson more congenial to himself, does the Apostle seek to impress upon them his own spirit, the spirit of honest industry, the spirit of peace and order, which is at once his benediction and admonition to them.

GENUINENESS OF THE SECOND EPISTLE.

THE second Epistle to the Thessalonians is not deficient in external evidence of its genuineness. As in the case of the former Epistle, the doubts that have been raised respecting it are based solely on an examination of its language and contents. They may be summed up under the following heads, the consideration of which will tend to establish the genuineness of the Epistle, as well as to throw light on its character and object:—

- i. Inconsistency with the First Epistle, in deferring the coming of Christ.
- ii. Doctrine of Antichrist, which is said to be an anachronism, either as indicating a later Montanist origin, or as betraying an allusion to later historical events.
- iii. The absence of situation and circumstance, as well as of traits of individual character.
- iv. The token at the end of the Epistle, which is the sign in all the Epistles.
- v. Likeness to, and difference from, the style of St. Paul.

i. Inconsistency with the First Epistle in deferring the coming of Christ, 1 Thess. v. 2., “Yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night;” 2 Thess. ii. 3., “That day shall not come except there come a falling away first.” It may be replied, that no argument against the genuineness of writings of St. Paul is more unsafe than that from supposed inconsistency. No writer is more apt to present us with opposite views of the same subject, even in the same Epistle, or to modify one side of a precept

or of an argument by the other. (Compare the treatment of the question of meats offered to idols in 1 Corinth. viii. ; or of the incestuous person in 1 Cor. v. ; 2 Cor. vii. ; or of the rejection of the Jews in the Epistle to the Romans.) The coming of Christ is a subject in which such a difference is most likely to appear, because it is future, and therefore necessarily indistinct. And the difference between the two passages is just similar to that which occurs elsewhere, even in successive verses of the same chapter and in the discourses of our Lord himself. See Essay on the Belief in the immediate Coming of Christ, and on the Man of Sin.

ii. Doctrine of Antichrist : (1.) Supposed to indicate a later Montanist origin. To this it may be answered that the doctrine of Antichrist is not Montanist, but Jewish, and in its general outline is found in the writings of Philo and the Rabbis, no less than in those of Paul and John. (Comp., though later, 2 Esdras.) Even were there no express proof of its existence, it might have been safely conjectured, from the analogy of prophecy, to have followed the belief in Messiah's kingdom. Or, (2.) to betray allusions to later historical events ; that is to say, Nero, who is to come again, is Antichrist ; and the space between the death of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem is the exact interval into which the composition of the Epistle fits.

The fuller answer to both objections will be found in the Essays on the Belief in the Coming of Christ and on the Man of Sin. Here it will be sufficient to remark that the prophecies of the New Testament do not relate to particular events, but to the state of the world in general. They are not political but spiritual. They take a distant view of history, and read it by a light of good and evil which they themselves cast upon it. It would be contrary to general principles to assign any minute historical meaning to a particular passage.

iii. The absence of situation and circumstance, and of traits of individual character.

One Epistle has not as many historical allusions as another, or

there is a difference of length in different Epistles. But the shortness of an Epistle, or the absence of historical allusions, does not prove it to be spurious; it only lessens or does away with a single proof of genuineness. In this case it may be argued further, that the tone of the Epistle agrees with what we gather from the Acts respecting the Spirit and feelings of the earliest believers, living "amid the things spoken of by the prophet Joel;" and that the early date of the Epistle offers a general coincidence with its Old Testament and prophetic character. Some value may be also attributed to the connexion of the First and Second Epistles. Arguments which are comparatively slight may be fairly set against slight objections. Lastly, considering the deep feeling which throughout marks the Epistle, it cannot be said to be devoid of character.

It is the opinion of Ewald (*Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus*), "that none of the writings of the New Testament have so much of the living freshness of the first age of the Gospel, or present so vivid a picture of the hopes of the first believers, as the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Their chief subject is the 'Apocalyptic vision in its first native power working on the minds of men, not yet formed into an artistic whole, as in the Book of Revelation. In other respects also a coincidence may be observed between the contents of the Epistle and the earlier stages of the Apostle's life. Circumstances have not yet drawn out the sense of the opposition between Judaism and the Gospel. He preaches love and not faith; the words 'righteousness' and 'justification' never occur. He is contending with Jews or heathens (1 Thess. ii. 14—16.); Jewish Christians (2 Thess. iii. 2.?) have not yet appeared on the scene." (Pp. 13—18.)

iv. The token at the end of the Epistle, which is the sign in all the Epistles.

It is argued that at this date there were no forgeries, and therefore no reason for guarding against forgery, and that the Apostle had as yet written but one Epistle.

This is the strongest objection urged by Baur against the genuine-

ness of the Epistle. In answer it may be remarked : (1.) That the autograph salutation occurs in 1 Cor. xvi. 21. and Col. iv. 18. ; that it would require minute observation to have remarked this, and yet the Epistle to which it is supposed to be transferred, exhibits no imitation either in words or train of thought of those Epistles. (2.) That it is most probable that the words of Gal. vi. 11., "Ye see in how large letters I have written to you with my own hands," are similarly a sign of the genuineness of that Epistle. It is true that to appeal to the allusion in 2 Thess. ii. 2. itself, as a proof of the existence of forged epistles in St. Paul's time, would be a circle. (3.) But the consistency of that allusion with the token of salutation, and the slightness of it, are presumptions of the Epistle having arisen from a real occasion. (4.) The readiness to practise forgery and pious fraud in an age when such forgeries were apt to be thought innocent and laudable, can hardly be estimated. Compare Rev. xxii. 18—19. Lastly, the incidental character of the Epistles we have, leads us naturally to suppose that there were others also, which have not come down to us, and gives a rational meaning to the words "in every Epistle," even though occurring in one of the first of those extant.

v. Likeness to, and difference from, the style and writings of St. Paul.

The likeness is supposed to be such as betrays an imitator ; the difference, such as renders it impossible that the epistle could have been written by St. Paul. But, on the other hand, it may be retorted that the difference is no greater than might naturally be expected in the same author writing at different times ; and the likeness of a kind such as indicates the hand, not of an imitator, but of St. Paul himself.

(1.) The examples of difference of style and language are very uncertain. The following expressions are quoted in confirmation of the objection * : —

* Baur, Paulus, pp. 489, 490.

1. εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν, i. 3., ii. 13., especially in the first passage, where it is weakened by καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν.
2. ὑπερανξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, i. 3., is said to be inconsistent with καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν in 1 Thess. iii. 10.
3. αἰρεῖσθαι, used of election in ii. 13.
4. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, for διὰ τοῦτο, ii. 11.
5. Forced construction of ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, i. 10.
6. πᾶσα εὐδοκία ἀγαθωσύνης, ἔργον πίστεως, i. 11.; ἐπιφάνεια τῆς παρουσίας, ii. 8.; δέχεσθαι τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας, ii. 10.; ἀξιῶση τῆς κλήσεως, i. 11.; καλοποιεῖν, iii. 13.

Objections of this kind are, for the most part, matters of taste or feeling, about which it is useless to dispute. It may be observed on No. 1., that although εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν, i. 3., ii. 13., does not occur elsewhere in the writings of St. Paul, it cannot be regarded as unlike his style. The form of duty is one which all thoughts naturally take in his mind. He is under obligation, compulsion, &c., to do many things. Nor can any pleonasm or dilution of language be regarded as an evidence of the spuriousness of a writing of St. Paul's age if it be not rather, as far as it goes, a proof of its genuineness. This latter remark strictly applies to No. 2., which reminds us of the amplification of language which occurs at the commencement of his other Epistles. Neither is the supposed inconsistency in this last-mentioned passage with 1 Thess. iii. 10. so great as the difference in tone of 1 Cor. i. 5—9. and the rest of the Epistle, the wavering and variation of which are themselves characteristic of the Apostle.

On No. 3. it may be observed, that although the word αἰρεῖσθαι nowhere occurs in the New Testament in the sense of election, it has this sense in Deut. xxvi. 18., whence it is not unreasonable to suppose that St. Paul, or any other writer of the New Testament, may have transferred it to his own use.—No. 4. There is no more objection to καὶ before διὰ τοῦτο than to any other pleonastic use of καί, such, for example, as that in Col. ii. 13.—No. 5. Compare Rom.

iv. 9. for a similar use of ἐπί.—No. 6. Compare Eph. i. 5. for a pleonastic use of εὐδοκία: Eph. i. 3. 8. for a similar use of πᾶς. Instances do not occur precisely parallel with the remaining examples; still, neither the want of clearness of expression in some of these, nor the pleonastic character of others, are at all inconsistent with the style of the Apostle.

(2.) Against such supposed dissimilarities, it is fair to set also the resemblances in manner and phraseology to the Apostle's writings. The following are characteristically, if not exclusively, St. Paul's:—

The pleonastic and vehement mode of speaking of the faith and love of his converts, in i. 3., as elsewhere, at the commencement of his Epistles, yet, as in the Corinthians, passing into reproof of some at the close of the Epistle.

The antithetical turn of thought in ver. 6, 7., and real, though latent, parallelism with Phil. i. 28, 29.

The mode of connecting ἐνδοξασθῆναι with the word ἐν ᾧ in i. 10.; the echo of ἐνδοξασθῆναι in ἐνδοξασθῆ, ver. 12.; the verbal connexion of ἐπιστεύθη with πιστεύσασιν in ver. 10.; the reciprocal expression ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ in ver. 12.

The ἴνα in i. 11., and the more remote ὅπως in ver. 12., like Rom. vii. 13.

The anacoluthon in ii. 3.

The expression in ii. 3., μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ, like the warning in Eph. v. 6., μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενότις λόγοις.

The recurrence to his visit to them, as in Cor., Gal., Phil., 1 Thess.

The following parallelisms: 2 Thess. ii. 7., μόνον ὁ κατέχων, participle without a verb; so Rom. xii. 16, 17. 19. 2 Thess. ii. 10., τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; so 1 Cor. i. 18., 2 Cor. ii. 15. 2 Thess. ii. 12., εὐδοκήσαντες [ἐν] τῇ ἀδικίᾳ; Rom. i. 32., συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσοσι.

The defective antithesis in ii. 12.

The expressions 2 Thess. ii. 13., εὐχαριστεῖν πάντοτε; compare 1 Cor. i. 4., εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πάντοτε. 2 Thess. ii. 15., ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί; so Rom. viii. 12., ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί; Gal. iv.

31., ἄρα, ἀδελφοί. 2 Thess. ii. 16., παράκλησιν . . . καὶ ἐλπίδα;

Rom. xv. 4., τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τῇν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν.

2 Thess. iii. 2., ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν; Rom. xv. 31., ἵνα ῥυσθῶ.

The juxtaposition of παρακαλεῖν and στηρίζειν in ii. 17. as in Rom. i. 11, 12.

The echo of sound, rather than of sense in πίστις and πιστός, in iii. 3., and of πιστός in πεποιθάμεν in ver. 3, 4.; compare Rom. xii. 13, 14.

The expression in 2 Thess. iii. 6., παραγγέλλομεν . . . ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου; so 1 Cor. vii. 10., παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ὁ κύριος.

The words οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, iii. 9., which occur also in 1 Cor. ix. 4., there as a part of the main argument, but here incidentally; also the passage which follows, and the use of the word ἐπιβαρῆσαι just before, in the same sense as ἀβαρίης, 2 Cor. xi. 9.

The sudden alternation from the language of severity to that of love, in iii. 14, 15.; compare 1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Thess. iii. 13., μὴ ἐκκακήσητε καλοποιούντες. So Gal. vi. 9., τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν. 2 Thess. iii. 16., ὁ κύριος εἰρήνης, towards the end of the Epistle. So Rom. xvi. 20.; 2 Cor. xiii. 11.; Gal. vi. 16.

The play of words (iii. 11.), μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους. Compare Rom. i. 20. 28., ii. 1., &c.

TIME AND PLACE OF THE SECOND EPISTLE.

THE Second Epistle to the Thessalonians affords of itself no indication of time or place. But when taken in connexion with the First Epistle, it must be presumed to have been written not earlier, but later, as the First Epistle immediately refers to the Apostle's first visit to Thessalonica, and this in a way hardly consistent with the supposition that a previous Epistle had intervened. The First Epistle was written sometime during the Apostle's eighteen months' stay in Corinth and its neighbourhood. How long afterwards the Second Epistle followed, we can only judge from so precarious an argument as the degree of connexion between them. Are the circumstances and state of feeling described in the Second Epistle sufficiently different from those in the First to require a considerable interval? or so similar as to imply a short one only?

It is at least doubtful whether the Apostle in ii. 2. is referring to his former Epistle. (See note.) Leaving the discussion of this verse, therefore, as having nothing to do with our present subject, the points of connexion which the two Epistles present are the following : —

- (1.) The persecutions which are still continuing.
- (2.) The expectation of the coming of Christ; which, in the Second Epistle, has taken a new turn; the former anxiety about the departed having passed away, and a general unsettlement of mind having taken its place, arising out of a belief of the nearness of the great event.
- (3.) The disorder of the Church, and interruption of daily occupations.

From such data we cannot form any certain conclusions. The second of the above-mentioned points of connexion implies some, the first and third not a very long interval. The circumstances of the Church seem to be the same in both Epistles, but the state of feeling to be rapidly changing. The First Epistle presents us with the picture of an early Christian Church, within a few months, at latest, from its conversion. The Second presents us, though in uncertain outline, with the picture of the same Church a few months later, with some of its features aggravated, others softened, so far as we can indistinctly trace them in the exhortations of the Apostle. The same persons who first preached the Gospel at Thessalonica, Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus, are still together, as they are joined in the superscription of the Epistle.

These considerations, together with the improbability of supposing the Epistle to be contemporaneous with any of the later writings of St. Paul, lead to the inference that it was sent from Corinth or its neighbourhood, during the latter part of the Apostle's eighteen months' stay there.

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ

Β.

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΣ Β.

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσα- 1
λονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ χριστῷ.
χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς [ἡμῶν] καὶ κυρίου 2
Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ.

Εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, 3
ἀδελφοί, καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν
καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἐνὸς ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς
ἀλλήλους, ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκυχᾶσθαι¹ ἐν ταῖς 4

¹ καυχᾶσθαι.

I. The substance of the first chapter may be summed up as follows:—The Apostle commends the Thessalonian converts, for their increasing faith and the love which draws them closer to one another amid persecutions. This commendation he utters in the form of a thanksgiving on their behalf, in which, as elsewhere, the power of expression falls short of the fulness of his heart. The patience with which the Thessalonians endured their sufferings is a source of pride to him in the churches of God. Those very sufferings of theirs are a manifestation of the righteousness of God; their object being to make them worthy of the kingdom of God. For they must be considered as part of a whole, the present balancing with the future; the state of believers here alternating with that of their enemies in the world to come. "Son, thou in

thy life hadst thy good things and likewise Lazarus evil things, but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." This is the law of compensation, in God's dealings with the heathen and the despisers of the Gospel, in the day when they shall pass away for ever from his presence, and his saints who have believed the word of the Apostle, shall magnify him. For which end the Apostle prays without ceasing, that God may make them worthy of their calling and the name of Christ be glorified in them.

1, 2. Compare notes on the salutation of the First Epistle, which is the same, with the exception of the words, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, here no longer doubtful.

3. Εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν, *we are bound to thank.*] The plural may be intended to include Silvanus and Timotheus, or we may

II. THESSALONIANS.

- 1 PAUL, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the Church
of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord
2 Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, from God our
Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
3 WE are bound to thank God always for you, brethren,
as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceed-
ingly, and the love* of every one of you all toward
4 each other aboundeth; so that we ourselves glory in

consider St. Paul as already making the transition and using the plural of himself only, as elsewhere. Compare 1 Thess. i. 2.

καθὼς ἄξιον, *as it is meet.*] The apparent tautology of these words ("we ought to do it as we ought") it is proposed to obviate by connecting them closely with the clause which follows:—"We ought to give thanks always for you, and the reason which makes it meet that we should give thanks is the exceeding abundance of your faith." To this it may be objected, that the proposed connexion of the clauses is unnatural and the meaning poor. It is better to regard the words καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν as an emphatic repetition of the preceding, "we ought to give thanks, as is worthy;" ἄξιον expressing a higher degree of the same notion than *οφείλομεν*—it is not merely an obligation, but a noble and worthy thing, a freewill offering as well as a duty:

"it is very meet, right, and our bounden duty."

ἐνδὲς . . . ὑμῶν,] of every one without any exception; εἰς ἀλλήλους, to be taken with ἡ ἀγάπη. ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς: not intended to indicate that in general a man should not glory, but merely that the excess of their faith and grace was such that it reflected itself even on others, and made Paul also himself glory on their behalf in other Churches. The emphasis on ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς may be thought to intimate that, however natural it is for a person to boast of himself, it is unnatural for others to boast of him; "in your case, however, it is not you who boast of yourselves, but we ourselves who boast of you." Yet, in a writer like St. Paul, we cannot certainly say that this apparent point is more than a false emphasis or awkwardness of expression.

4. ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.] That is,

ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως
 ἐν πάσιν τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς ἀνέ- 5
 χεσθε, ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ κατα-
 ξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε,
 εἰ περ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς 6
 θλίβιν καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ 7
 ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων
 δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ¹ διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ 8

¹ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός.

in Corinth and the neighbouring towns. ὑπομονῆς, in allusion to persecutions; διωγμοῖς and θλίψεις may be distinguished, as particular and general, as persecutions and trials. αἷς ἀνέχεσθε, "wherewith or wherein ye endure;" or for ὧν, by a somewhat unusual attraction, "which ye endure." According to the first explanation the nearest analogy for the dative after ἀνέχεσθε is that of verbs of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, στέργειν, χαλεπῶς φέρειν, and the like; it is simpler, however, to supply ἐν from the antecedent clause.

5, 6. The Apostle transfers himself to a new point of view. Their present persecution was a proof of God's justice, for it was a token that God would give them a place in His kingdom, if, on the other hand, the punishment of their enemies hereafter was in accordance with the just judgment of God; for the relative position of both would be altered in the world to come, the order of another life being itself an inversion of the order of this. Good and evil, now and hereafter, are diametrically opposed. Thus we have two arguments:—

They suffer now: therefore,

Their enemies will suffer hereafter.

Their enemies will suffer hereafter: therefore,

They will be comforted hereafter.

But are such arguments really valid? it will be asked. They are arguments of the same kind as those in the eleventh chapter of Romans:—"If the root is holy, how much more the branches? if the rejection of the Jews is the salvation of the world, how much more their restoration?" In other words, the substance is real, but the form is dialectical or rhetorical. A near parallel to the present passage is furnished by Phil. i. 28.:—"And in nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token (ἐνδειξις) of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God;" words which at the same time express the feelings with which the heathen must have often looked upon the sufferings of the first Christians.

ἔνδειγμα is said to be put in apposition with the idea of affliction or endurance in the previous verse. According to this mode of connecting the sentence, it is probably the accusative case; if

you in the churches of God for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure:
 5 which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of
 6 God, for which ye also suffer: seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that
 7 trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven
 8 with his mighty angels, in flame¹ of fire taking ven-

¹ Flaming.

taken with the subject of ἀνέχεσθε (quasi ὄντες ἐνδειγμα), it would be in the nominative. Whether the nicety of the grammatical construction was in the Apostle's mind or not, there can be little doubt that ἐνδειγμα refers to the idea of the previous sentence, not to the nominative case of ἀνέχεσθε. In the sufferings of the converts, the Apostle sees by implication the sufferings of their enemies; and these reflect, as in a glass, their own happiness. Viewed in this light, their very suffering is a manifestation of the justice of God.

εἰς τὸ καταξιοθῆναι ὑμᾶς.] εἰς, the result, as in 2 Cor. viii. 6., or the object, or both. It is the result and end of their persecution, that they may be counted worthy of the kingdom. Compare Luke, vi. 23.

ὑπερ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε] suggests the reason and pledge of their election to the kingdom of God.

εἰ περ δίκαιον] is taken up from δίκαιας κρίσεις, "since it is just with God to punish your enemies."

7. ἀνεσις] remission of suffering in the future kingdom of Christ, "where the wicked cease from troubling, where the weary are at rest."

μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ,] a Hebraism like υἱοὶ δυνάμεως, ἄρχοντες δυνάμεως in the LXX.

8. ἐν φλογὶ πυρός, in flaming fire.] Compare Exod. iii. 2., Dan. vii. 9, 10., Is. xxix. 6.

The Gospel "of the coming of Christ" is clothed in language taken from the Old Testament. "The flame of fire" and the punishment of the wicked, "from the presence of God and from the glory of his might," are literally expressions of Isaiah (ii. 10. 19. 21., and xxix. 6., xxx. 27.), as the description of the man of sin in the next chapter is in part also borrowed from Ezekiel and Daniel. The array of His saints is also an image familiar to the prophets. (Comp. Jude, ver. 14.) Almost we may fancy we hear Elias saying by the mouth of John the Baptist, "He shall thoroughly purge his floor and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." And yet that which most distinguishes the truth of Christ even from Evangelical prophecy is not wanting. They who are to be "glorified in Christ" in company (μεθ' ἡμῶν) with the Apostles and prophets, are not the chosen people, but a heathen community. That earlier Gospel of St. Paul "which

εἰδόσι θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ [χριστοῦ], οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν 9 ὁλέθριον¹ αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς 10 ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν², ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα 11 ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ὃ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πληρώσῃ πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης καὶ ἔργον πίστεως ἐν δυ-

¹ ὁλεθρον.² πιστεύουσιν.

was not another," had a kind of Old Testament force and simplicity. Its phraseology was yet unformed; it embodied in vision of sense the "things that eye hath not seen;" the Apostle when he preached it was "drunk into the Spirit" of the old prophets of Israel. But it was a Gospel for the Gentile as well as the Jew; it spoke of faith in Christ and salvation through his name; it witnessed to the Apostle's own call and that of his converts; it was "very near," though it seemed also "to bring down Christ from above."

τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν.] Seeming to intimate the Gentiles, who know not God, and the Jews, who are a disobedient race.

9. ἀπὸ προσώπου.] ἀπὸ here probably has a mixed or double notion; "at" or "because of" and "away from" in one; it marks the cause of separation. Compare the use of ἀπὸ προσώπου in Is. xix. 16., and the description of the day of the Lord in Isaiah ii. 10. 19. 21. (εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια . . . ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ ὅταν ἵναστη

θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν), from which this passage is taken, and where the same words (ἀπὸ . . . αὐτοῦ) are thrice repeated.

τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.] Taken from the passage just quoted. Not the glory which is the creation of his power, but his mighty glory, the glory which overpowers men at his appearing, as of the sun travelling in the greatness of his strength (compare τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης, Col. i. 11. and ver. 7., μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ). This is confirmed by the next verse, the thought of which is caught up from the word δόξα in the preceding.

10. ὅταν ἔλθῃ, when he shall come] (sc. ὥστε) to be glorified. ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις refers, not to angels, but to the spirits of departed saints, who are the array in which the Lord comes (Zech. xiv. 5., Jude, ver. 14.), while believers everywhere look on with joy and wonder. ἐν, neither "by" nor "in the midst of;" it is expressive rather of the union of Christ with those who are the manifestation of his glory. As the Father is said to be glorified in the Son, John, xiv. 3., so is the Son said to be

geance on them that know not God, and that obey not
 9 the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be
 punished with everlasting destruction from the presence
 10 of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; when he
 shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be
 admired in all them that believe because our testimony
 11 *to you was believed in that day. Wherefore also
 we pray always for you, that our God would count
 you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power:

glorified in his saints. Compare *ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν*, ver. 4.

ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν.] The most natural explanation of these words is to regard them as a mere epexegetis of *πιστεύσασιν*. "To be marvelled at by all believers, because you believed us;" the clause *ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη* being intended to connect the previous clause *ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν* with the Church at Thessalonica, to which the Apostle had preached. "When he comes to be glorified in his saints, and wondered at, among all believers, because of the success of the Gospel, whereof I am a minister."

ἐφ' ὑμᾶς is commonly said to be joined with *μαρτύριον*; "unto," not, as in the parallel expression (Luke, ix. 5.), "against." For the use of *ἐπὶ*, compare the Homeric *κλέος ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους*. In such forms of speech *ἐπὶ* is hardly distinguishable from *εἰς*; it may perhaps be said to convey an idea of diffusion, *εἰς* of directness, both equally implying the tendency to an object.

It is not, however, certain that *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* is to be taken with *μαρτύριον* rather than with *ἐπιστεύθη*. In the latter case *ἐπι-*

στεύθη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς may be said in the same way as in Col. i. 6., *εὐαγγελίου τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς*, the idea of "extending" or "coming," which is wanted in the verb, being imperfectly expressed by the preposition. So *πεποιθαμεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*, 2 Thess. iii. 4., and 2 Cor. ii. 3. Compare also Apoc. vii. 15., *σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς*.

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ is usually connected with *ἐνδοξασθῆναι*; the order of words favours its being construed with *ἐπιστεύθη*. Compare note on Rom. ii. 12.

11. *εἰς ὅ.*] "For which end;" the thought being further carried on in the words that follow *ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ*, and assisted by *τῆς κλήσεως*. Compare ii. 14., *εἰς ὃ ἐκάλεσεν*, and Col. i. 29., *εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ*.

καί.] Which shall be, *and* to which end we pray also.

τῆς κλήσεως.] The calling of man by God is the first act, and beginning of a Christian life. But the acts of God may be viewed also as unchangeable and therefore as the end rather than the beginning of the work; in the beginning the end also is implied. In this passage it is not as the act of God that *κλήσις*

νάμει, ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ 12
[χριστοῦ] ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ
θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ

Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ 2
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ'
αὐτόν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦς 2

is used, but as the state which results from that act. Comp. note on 1 Thess. iii. 7.

πληρώσῃ πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης, *fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness.*] It has been doubted, in reference to the last two words, whether they allude to the Thessalonians, or to God the Giver; or εὐδοκία to God, ἀγαθωσύνη to them: (1.) all gladness in well doing; or, (2.) (as in the English version) all the good pleasure of his goodness; or, (3.) all his good pleasure in their righteousness. It is improbable that the Apostle would have distinguished the will of God in itself from the working of it in the heart of man. As with δικαιοσύνη, γνῶσις, ἀγάπη, he uses mixed modes of thought, blending in one the cause with the effect. The believer is separated by so thin a film from the Spirit of God that the operation of the one is often in Scripture transferred to the other, and language wavers in its meaning between the two or seems to comprehend both. See Essay in vol. ii. on the Abstract Ideas of Scripture.

12. ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ, *that may be glorified.*] That is, that the Lord may be glorified in you, and ye in him. The words τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου are not precisely equivalent to ὁ κύριος. They recall the language of the Old Testament

which the Apostle naturally uses to express the glory of "His appearing."

II. "I beseech you, brethren, as an advocate for the truth respecting the coming of Christ (or simply as touching the coming of Christ), that ye be not soon shaken by any impulse from within, or word, or letter of any, as though it were what I taught you, that the day of the Lord is at hand. For ye remember what I said, while I was with you, that the Apostasy must first come, that so the adversary, the son of perdition, may be revealed, who is to seat himself in the Temple of God. And you know what it is that hinders his being revealed, and reserves him for his own time. For already he is working unseen, and shall appear when the hinderer is taken away. Then shall be the revelation of the power of Satan on earth, the image of the true, with all manner of falsehood and imposture, and power of delusion to those who will be deceived, in the deception of whom God himself shall assist, that they may be all brought into judgment. "Him," the Apostle adds by anticipation in the eighth verse, "the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth and the manifestation of his presence."

"From the lost, brethren, we turn to you who are saved, having so much the more need to give

12 that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

2 NOW we beseech you, brethren, concerning* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together
2 unto him, that ye be not soon shaken from * your mind,

thanks for you, who are the first fruits of the Gospel, whom God hath called by our preaching to the inheritance of the kingdom of Christ. Wherefore also I exhort you to stand firm and hold fast what has been delivered to you. And may our Lord Jesus Christ, and God our Father, who loved us and gave us consolation far beyond our temporal sufferings, comfort and strengthen you !”

1—10. is suggested by the mention of the judgment in the previous chapter, and has reference to opinions existing in the Thessalonian Church. They had suffered persecution and this led the Apostle to the thought, that the judgment of God would be upon their enemies, in the day of the Lord. But a sort of counter-thought arises in his mind, that this coming of the day of the Lord was the very subject upon which he had to warn them to be calm, and not think, day after day, that the course of the world was to be interrupted. “God is about to take vengeance on your enemies and that speedily” would be the natural sequence. But the Apostle goes on to teach them, that in fact “it would not be speedily,” for an increase of evil must come first. And he proceeds to recall to their minds the lesson which he had taught

while yet with them, respecting the man of sin and “that which let.”

1.—ἐρωτῶμεν, “*we beseech*,”] as in Phil. iv. 3. and elsewhere in the New Testament.

ὑπέρ.] Not as in the English version “by,” as though a formula of adjuration. There would be no point in saying—“I beseech you by the day of the Lord, not to suppose that the day of the Lord is at hand. ὑπέρ, in this passage, may be taken, either (1.) as equivalent to περὶ, as in 2 Cor. i. 6. 8.; 1 Thess. iii. 2.; where, however, as in most of the passages in which ὑπέρ is said to be put for περὶ, the original idea is partly retained; or better, (2.) in the common use of “on behalf of,” as though the Apostle were pleading in the interest of that day, that the expectation of it might not be a source of disorder in the Church.

ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς.] Compare 1 Thess. iv. 17. :—“Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds.”

2. σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοός, *that ye be not soon shaken from your mind*,] or so as to lose your mind. Comp. Rom. ix. 3., ἀνάρθεμα εἶναι . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ.

μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, *by spirit*.] Do not let any spiritual influence take possession of you, and unsettle your mind. πνεῦμα, not in that

μηδὲ¹ θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος μήτε διὰ λόγου μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου.² μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, ὅτι³ εἰ μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος⁴

¹ μήτε.² τοῦ χριστοῦ.

sense of the word, in which all Christians are partakers of it, but rather with reference to the irregular manifestations of the spirit, as of "a rushing mighty wind," carrying men whither they would not.

μήτε διὰ λόγου, *by word*,] may be connected, either with what precedes, or with what follows; either, be not moved by any spiritual manifestation, nor by word spoken of argument or exhortation; or, be not moved either by word pretending to come from us, or by letter pretending to come from us. According to the first explanation, πνεύματος is opposed to λόγου, as the supernatural ecstatic impulse to ordinary instruction.

μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, *by letter*.] Do these words relate to a misconception of the former Epistle, or to a forgery? In favour of the first supposition may be urged: (1.) the coincidence of the subject; (2.) the improbability of any one forging an Epistle from St. Paul, at a time when he was himself living and writing to the Church of Thessalonica; (3.) the allusion in ii. 15., whether to the Epistle in which it occurs, or the previous one, is uncertain; (4.) the additional improbability of his passing over such an offence, with so slight an allusion. On the other hand, the Apostle does not complain of a misunderstanding or

misrepresentation of his words, but appears to disown the Epistle itself: and the former Epistle could not easily have given rise to such a misconstruction as is here implied. The most probable hypothesis is that the Apostle is not referring definitely to any particular speech or Epistle, but to the possibility only of some one or other being used against him. Many may have passed between them, and what inferences might be drawn was uncertain. We might translate the whole passage thus:—"be not quickly moved either by spirit or words or letter, as though these expressed our sentiments." πνεύματος is half connected with, and half forgotten in, the words δι' ἡμῶν. (Comp. ver., 15.) ὡς ὅτι is a confusion of two constructions, ὡς ἐνέστηκέναι and ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν; also of subjective and objective, ὡς implying the former, ὅτι the latter, as in 2 Cor. xi. 21., κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἡσθενήσαμεν, where, as here, it may be translated "as though," "under the idea that."

3. κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, *by this or any other means*.

ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔλθῃ, *except there come*,] is an anacoluthon. "Let no man deceive you, because except there come a falling away first,"—ἐξαπατήσῃ may be taken in a pregnant sense, in which case ὅτι will mark the subject of the deception. "Let no man deceive

or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of the Lord¹ is at
 3 hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for ex-
 cept there come the* falling away first, and the man* of
 4 sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and

¹ Of Christ.

you, saying that that day will come, except there come the falling away first." But, owing to the length of the sentence, the latter end of it forgets the beginning.

ἡ ἀποστασία, *the falling away,*]

either that of which he had spoken to them while he was yet with them, or the falling away which was the common belief of

Christians or which in his own mind was inseparable from the coming of Christ, which was to follow. For the use of the

article, compare Apoc. xx. 3., ἄχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη. Of what nature was this falling away? What vision of apostasy

rose before him as he wrote this? Was it within or without? per-

manent or passing? persecution by the heathen, or the disor-

ganisation of the body of Christ itself? Was it the transition of the Church from its first love to

a more secular and earthly state, or the letting loose of a spiritual world of evil, such as the Apostle

describes in Eph. vi. 12.? So ideal a picture cannot properly be limited to any person or in-

stitution. That it is an inward, not an outward evil that is depicted, is implied in the name

apostasy. It is not the evil of the heathen world, sunk in grossness and unconsciousness, but evil rebelling against good, con-

flicting with good in the spiritual world itself. And the conflict is of the same nature, though in a wider sphere, as the strife of good and evil in the heart of the individual. It is that same strife, not as represented in the seventh of Romans, but at a later stage, when evil is fast becoming good, and the remembrance of the past itself is carrying men away from the truth.

καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ.] Antichrist, like Christ, is to be revealed: the outside is to be stripped off, and he is to be seen as he is.

ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας.] The impersonation of sin. Compare Rom. vi. 6., ὁ πάλαιος ἄνθρωπος.

ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας.] Not who brings others to perdition, but who is perdition himself and the son of perdition, the image of self-destroying evil. Compare for the expression, though there applied to an individual, John, xvii. 12.; also αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας, in 2 Peter, ii. 1., and Ἀπολλύων, in Rev. ix. 11. There is no reason to suppose that the description of the text refers to an individual, any more than the prince of this world spoken of by our Saviour; the prince of the power of the air, in the Epistle to the Ephesians; or the beast and false prophet, spoken of in the Book of Revelation. As Christ is a person, so evil is impersonated as his antagonist.

4. ὁ ἀντικείμενος, *the opposer,*] the same whom St. John calls

καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος, ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ¹ καθίσαι ἀποδεικνύντα 5
 ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός. οὐ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ἔτι ὦν πρὸς ὑμᾶς 5
 ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ; καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε, εἰς τὸ ἀποκα- 6

¹ Add ὡς θεόν.

Antichrist, here more indefinitely and generally expressed "the accuser of the brethren," Rev. xii. 11.: not Satan himself, according to whose power he is described as working in ver. 9., yet scarcely distinguishable from him.

ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν, *who exalteth, &c.*] The image is taken from the description of Antiochus Epiphanes, in Dan. xi. 36.: καὶ ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑψωθήσεται καὶ μεγαλυνθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸν καὶ λαλήσει ὑπέρογκα — καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας θεοὺς τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ οὐ συνήσει. Compare also Dan. vii. 25.; καὶ λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὑψιστον λαλήσει. "There are gods many and lords many," and over all in his insolence does he place himself. λεγόμενον seems to be added as an euphemism, to avoid setting the heathen gods in the same rank with Jehovah.

σέβασμα, *object of reverence,*] used in Acts, xvii. 23., for idols. καθίσαι here, as commonly in the New Testament, used intransitively.

εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, *in the temple of God.*] Either: (1.) the temple at Jerusalem; or, (2.) the Christian Church; or, (3.) more truly both, the one being the image of the other, as in our Lord's words, — "Destroy this temple." The use of the image may have been suggested by the

recent attempt of Caligula to place his statue in the Temple, as well as by the common practice of deifying the Roman emperors. "In medio mihi Cæsar erit, templumque tenebit." Compare Dan. ix. 27., ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, quoted by our Lord in Matt. xxiv. 15. Antichrist, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, is not without, but within the Church, usurping the place of God. The Jewish Temple being regarded as the symbol of the Christian Church, or of the world itself, that other temple of God, the man of sin, is the personified and concentrated might of evil possessing it by force. See Essay on the Man of Sin.

ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός, = ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν θεόν.] These words carry on the thought which has preceded. He sits in the temple of God, and openly declares himself to be God. We are not to imagine a person suddenly coming forward and claiming divine honours. This would be, not a mystery of iniquity, but an absurdity. What the Apostle is speaking of is a form of evil springing out of the state of the world itself, to which mankind are ready to give homage.

5. Comp. 1 Thess. iii. 4. This that I am telling you may sound strange. But do ye not remember that ye have heard it before from me by word of mouth, when

exalteth himself over* all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he¹ sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God,—Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he* may be revealed in his proper* time.

¹ Add as God.

I was yet with you. I do but hint to you now what I then told you more fully. Or we may trace the connexion in a slightly different way. How is it that you have taken up these extravagant notions about the immediate coming of Christ? Have you forgotten what I told you about the manifestation of Antichrist and the interval which must precede? Comp. 1 John, ii. 21., where the Apostle refers in the same way to the knowledge which his converts had of the appearance of Antichrist—"I wrote not unto you, because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it."

6. καὶ νῦν, *and now.*] Not of time, but of transition, and connecting both with what precedes and what follows:—"And now when you call to mind what I told you, you know further what hinders Antichrist, even as Antichrist hinders the coming of Christ."

εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, *that he may be revealed.*] The coming of Antichrist, like that of Christ, has its appointed time. Men were looking for the day of the Lord, but it was not yet; Antichrist must first come. They would look for Antichrist, but it was not yet.

That τὸ κατέχον refers to the

hindrance of Antichrist is plain from ὁ κατέχων in the succeeding verse. As in the case of Antichrist itself, the change of gender indicates that the hindrance spoken of may be regarded indifferently as a thing or as a person.

"That which letteth" has been variously explained to mean the prayers of Christians, or the ministry of the Apostle himself, or the Roman empire, about the destruction of which the Apostle expresses himself in dark and enigmatic terms; or, more generally, the purpose of God to delay its appearance. That the Roman empire was a limit to the anarchy and licentiousness of the world is a natural view to us. But we no not find anywhere else in the writings of St. Paul any similar view, nor is it easy to see how the Roman empire could be said to curb or restrain forms of spiritual evil, although it might seem to stand between the world and the papacy, or between the world and the irruption of the barbarians. Compare Essay on the Man of Sin.

The subject admits also of being regarded in a more general way. Again and again, in Scripture occurs the idea of an order and series of events, not to be anticipated in the providence of

λυφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ. τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ⁷
 ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου
 γένηται. καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος ⁸
 Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ¹ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ-
 αργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ ⁹
 παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ
 σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ² ἀδικίας ¹⁰
 τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ
 ἐδέξαντο εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτοὺς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πέμπει ³ ¹¹

¹ ἀναλώσει.² Add τῆς.³ πέμψει.

God. Thus our Saviour says:—
 “It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.” The Gospel itself comes “in the fulness of time.” There is a fitness of times and seasons, preparations and tendencies going before, and the final event following them. As in the Old Testament, “the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full,” so in the New, God is described as waiting and interposing hindrances that the order of Providence may not be inverted.

7. τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη . . . τῆς ἀνομίας.] μυστήριον is here opposed to ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, as ἤδη . . . to ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ. μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας does not differ from ἀποστασία, except as it expresses the hidden spiritual character of the wickedness about to come upon the earth. (Comp. for the expression 1 Tim. iii. 16., εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, as it were, in connexion with the secret counsels of God.) Comp. 1 John, iv. 3.:—“This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.”

μόνον ὁ κατέχων.] Not (1.) for

the mystery of iniquity already works, but only as a mystery, until he that now hinders be taken out of the way, with a stop after μόνον; thus, ἤδη and μόνον agree but ill together, and a false emphasis is laid on μυστήριον. It is better to take μόνον with the following clause, and supply ἐστι. (2.) For the mystery of iniquity already works, only he who now letteth will let. (Comp. Gal. ii. 10.: μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν.)

For the general sense of the passage, comp. 1 John, ii. 17.:—“As ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists whereby we know that it is the last time.” Hidden in the bosom of the earth and of the world, the power of Antichrist is already stirring, a mystery still, even as the believer's life is hidden with Christ and God. The depth of evil as of good is discerned by the spiritual eye before it is seen by other men.

8. καὶ τότε.] And then when he that letteth is taken out of the way, that lawless one shall be revealed. Yet not to have a long reign on the earth. Before

7 For the mystery of iniquity doth already work : only
there* is he who letteth now, until he be taken
8 out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed,
whom the Lord shall slay¹ with the spirit of his mouth,
and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:
9 whose coming is after the working of Satan with all
10 power and *lying signs and wonders, and with all de-
ceivableness of unrighteousness for* them that perish;
because they received not the love of the truth, that
11 they might be saved. And for this cause God doth

¹ Consume.

describing his appearance, the Apostle, as it were by way of consolation to the Church, anticipates his destruction.

τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ] is a poetical expression taken from the Old Testament. It implies, first, the power of God, as in Psalm xxxiii. 6., where it is said, the host of the heavens were made “by the breath of his mouth;” secondly, the wrath of God, as in Isaiah, xi. 4., where nearly the same expression occurs as in this passage:—“He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.”

τῇ ἐπιφάνειᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, with the brightness of his coming.] The word *ἐπιφάνεια* may either express the reality and vividness of his coming, or may be considered as meaning the “mere apparition of his presence;” as Bengel says—*Apparitio adventûs ipso adventu prior est vel certè prima ipsius adventûs emicatio, uti ἐπιφάνεια τῆς ἡμέρας.*

3—10. The Apostle having anticipated the overthrow of anti-

Christ, returns to the description of him, whose presence will be, yea, and now is, according to the working of Satan, with all false power and all false signs and wonders (*πάσῃ* and *ψεύδους* both refer to all the substantives), and in all unrighteous deceit to the lost, because they did not receive the truth for their salvation. In the words *ἀδικ. τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις* the dative implies that the falsehood has a natural and congenial effect on them. It is a falsehood apt to deceive them. Yet the cause of this is in themselves, because they have not received the truth in love—they have not learnt to love the truth. The expression, not receiving the love of the truth, does not imply any higher degree of alienation from the truth than the simpler form of words, “not receiving the truth.” It is a periphrasis agreeable to the Apostle’s mode of speech, but not equally so to our own idiom.

11. *διὰ τοῦτο.*] “He that hath to him shall be given, and he that hath not shall lose even that which he hath.” According to the view of the Apostle, God not

αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης, εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ψεύδει. ἵνα κριθῶσιν πάντες οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες τῇ 12 ἀληθείᾳ ἀλλ' εὐδοκήσαντες [ἐν] τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ 13 ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου, ὅτι εἴλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπαρχὴν¹ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας, εἰς ὃ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς, διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 14 ἡμῶν, εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε, καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς 15 παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ² χριστὸς καὶ [ὁ] 16

¹ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.² Omit ὁ.

only, in our phraseology, permits sin, but even causes it as a punishment for previous sin. Comp. Rom. i. 24., also x., and Essay on Predestination. He hardens Pharaoh's heart; He puts a lying spirit into the mouth of Ahab's prophets. He designedly deceives those who deceive themselves. So Isaiah, lxiii. 17.: *τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς κύριε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου, ἐσκλήρυνας τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν.*

To soften *πέμπει* into the sense of "permits to go," or *εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι* into a mere result, is contrary to the use of language, as it is to the form of thought, in the age of the Apostles.

12. *ἵνα κριθῶσιν πάντες.*] There are altogether three stages mentioned:—First, they would not receive the truth; therefore, secondly, God sent them a delusion that, thirdly, they might be punished for their unbelief.

The prophecy of the man of sin may be summed up under the following heads:—

(1.) The man of sin is described as an apostasy, that is, as arising within the Church.

(2.) As sitting in the Temple of God, setting himself above all other religions, and founding a new one.

(3.) As delayed for a time by some thing or person.

(4.) As immediately preceding the coming of Christ.

13. *Ἡμεῖς δέ,*] *sc.* St. Paul, speaking of himself in the plural. As in chap. 1. the punishment of the wicked recalls the Apostle to the salvation of his converts; ver. 13. and 14. contrast with 11 and 12. *πίστει ἀληθείας* answering to *πιστεῦσαι ψεύδει.*

τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν. Compare Rom. i. 8.

ἀπαρχήν, firstfruits,] B. G. v., that is, in comparison with the rest of the world. Comp. James, i. 18.; Rom. viii. There is considerable MS. authority (Δ. f. g.) in favour of *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, from the beginning, which is the reading of the *Textus Receptus*; so, *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.* According to this reading, St. Paul regards the election of his converts as existing from the beginning in the counsels of God; he transfers

send¹ them strong delusion, that they should believe a
 12 lie: that they all might be damned who believed not
 the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

13 BUT we are bound to give thanks always to God for
 you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God chose
 you² a firstfruits to salvation through sanctification of
 14 the Spirit and belief of the truth: whereunto he called
 you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our
 15 Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and
 hold the lessons which ye have been taught, whether by
 16 word, or our epistle. Now our Lord Jesus Christ him-

¹ Shall send.

² God hath from the beginning chosen you.

them to the invisible world. It would be natural to say, I thank God "that you received the word of truth." But the Apostle regards them as long ago admitted into the church, even from eternity, as though the purpose of God respecting them must have always been.

ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας,] expresses, not the instrument by which God works, but the state into which he transforms those whom he chooses. We may regard the expression as another instance of St. Paul's "mixed modes," blending the word of God in itself with the word of God in the human heart.

14. εἰς ὃ, unto all which,] sc. ἀπαρχὴ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος, κ. τ. λ.

εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης] is a resumption of εἰς σωτηρίαν in the previous verse. "To the obtaining of the glory of the Lord;" like περιποίησιν σωτηρίας, in 1 Thess. v. 9. Or περιποίησις may be taken passively (comp. Mat. iii. 17., 1 Pet. ii. 9.), and δόξης as a Hebrew genitive "for a glorious

possession." The first of these two explanations agrees best with the connexion.

15. It might seem as if, when election is spoken of, God had already done all, and nothing was left for man to do. The opposite inference is that of the Apostle. Unconscious of what we should term the logical inconsistency, he immediately adds — "Stand fast therefore;" be not shaken in mind or troubled, and hold fast what I taught you, either by word, or by Epistle. You might be shaken if you did not know the purpose of God towards you; but knowing it, be therefore at rest.

16—17. The same thought is continued in reference to the trouble and fear of the Church: "Be not soon shaken in your minds, but stand fast; and may our Lord Jesus Christ and God the Father, who loved us, comfort your hearts and stablish you in all you do and say!"

παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν,] "a consolation that reaches to the life that now is, and to that which is to come."

Θεὸς ὁ¹ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δὸν παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ἐν χάριτι, παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν¹⁷ τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι² ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ³ ἀγαθῷ.

Τὸ λοιπὸν προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί, περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ³ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ δοξάζεται καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν² ἀνθρώπων. οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις. πιστὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ³

¹ καί.² Add ὑμᾶς.³ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ.

The Greek philosopher spoke of wisdom as an *ἰατρικὴ ψυχῆς*, as we speak of the Gospel as remedial to the ills of human nature. St. Paul uses stronger language; with him the Gospel is a consolation. Within and without, the Christian is suffering in this evil world (ἐν τῷ παρестῶτι αἰῶνι πονηρῷ). The Gospel makes him sensible of this state, and at the same time turns his sorrow into joy. If his suffering abounds, his consolation much more abounds; and God, who is spoken of under many titles as the Author of the Gospel, has this one especially in the writings of St. Paul,—that he is the God of all consolation. (Rom. xv. 5.; 2 Cor. i. 3.)

III. The Epistle as usual concludes with exhortation.

For what remains, says the Apostle, pray for us, and yet not for us, but for the success of the Gospel; and for us also, that we may be delivered from persecution, for all men have not faith. But though men are faithless, God is faithful who will strengthen and deliver you from the evil. And we have faith in the Lord, that ye will do as we exhort you, and may he guide your hearts to love God and abide patiently in Christ!

Now what we do *exhort* you

to, brethren, by the name ye bear, is this,—to withdraw from the authors of disorder among you, who walk not according to the instructions they received of us. For ye know how far from disorder our walk was. We did not eat our bread for nothing, though we might have done so; but we worked with our own hands, partly for your example, partly to prevent our being burdensome to you. The reason why we say all this is, that we hear a report of certain disorderly members of the Church, who may be said to mind every body's business but their own. Such we exhort and desire in the Lord Jesus to work peaceably and get their own living. But ye, brethren, be not weary of setting the better example. And if there be others who will not follow it, and disobey this our present command, mark and avoid them, and yet remember that they are not enemies, but brethren. And may the author of peace give you peace always everywhere!

προσεύχεσθε . . . περὶ ἡμῶν, *pray for us.*] But for what? that the word of God may run and be glorified. It is after the manner of the Apostle, to put that as a wish for himself, which was a wish for the furtherance of the Gospel.

self, and God¹ our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope
17 through grace, comfort² and stablish your hearts in every good work and word.³

3 Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it
2 is with you: and that we may be delivered from the *strange and wicked ones: for all men have not faith.
3 But God⁴ is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep

¹ Add even.

³ Word and work.

² Comfort your hearts, and stablish you.

⁴ The Lord.

δοξάζηται.] Comp. Acts, xiii. 4., “And when the Gentiles heard this.. they glorified the word of the Lord:” and for τρέχει, Ps. cxlvii. 15., ζωὴς τάχους δραμεῖται ὁ λόγος. So, 2 Tim. ii. 9.: — ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δέδεσται.

2. καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν, and that we may be delivered.] The first thought of the Apostle was for the success of the Gospel; then followed the shrinking of the flesh from the dangers which awaited him.

The same shrinking of the flesh is traceable elsewhere, in Rom. xv. 31.; 2 Cor. i. 8, 9. It was not a fear of death, nor was it merely the wish to be preserved for his master's service; but a natural human feeling, which, in later life, had passed away. (Phil. ii. 17.; 2 Tim. iv. 7.) It may be not unreasonably connected with his bodily presence, which his adversaries said was weak and his speech contemptible. (2 Cor. x. 10.) In this passage the adversaries to whom he refers are not his opponents at Thessalonica, which he had left, but at Corinth, where he probably was at this time, the false brethren of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. The

words themselves indicate that he is speaking of those who are in a certain sense Christians. For why should he say οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις, of mere heathens or mere Jews? It would be like saying, “Pray God to deliver me from my enemies, for all men are not Christians;” or, “Pray God to deliver me from Jews or heathens, for they are unconverted;”—a self-evident remark, which it would be unmeaning to attribute to him. We are, therefore, led to infer that the words relate to the false brethren, the apparent friends, but secret enemies, such as those who came, in Gal. ii., to spy out the liberty of the Gospel, and were not separated by any marked line from the disciples. Supposing this view to be the true one, we may paraphrase as follows: —“Pray God that we may be delivered from evil men; for not all professors are true Christians.” Comp. Rom. xv. 31.

τῶν ἀτόπων.] Hesych., ἀτοπα ξένα, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἄτοπον τὸν δεινὸν καὶ ἐκθεσμον, καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, ἢ καὶ πονηρὸν καὶ αἰσχροὺν λέγει καὶ χαλεπόν. The article defines them as the class of the Apostle's enemies.

3. Though men are unfaithful,

θεός¹, ὃς στηρίζει ὑμᾶς καὶ φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. πεποίθαμεν δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἂ παραγγέλλομεν ⁴ [ὑμῖν καὶ ἐποιήσατε καὶ]² ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε. ὁ δὲ ⁵ κύριος κατευθύνει ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν³ ὑπομονὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ.

Παραγγέλλομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ⁶ [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν

¹ κύριος.² Omit ὑμῖν καὶ ἐποιήσατε καί.³ Omit τὴν.

yet God is faithful. Compare Rom. iii. 4. Though there are false brethren who have not the faith, yet God is faithful, and will deliver you from the evil. The connecting link between this verse and the preceding is formed by the two words *πίστις* and *πονηρός*. The Apostle, more anxious for others than for himself, changes the person, and passes suddenly from the thought of his own danger to that of the Thessalonians.

Commentators are not agreed whether τοῦ πονηροῦ is to be taken as neuter or masculine; and whether, in the latter case, it refers to Satan or the man of sin, or is a collective name for bad men in general. The transition from the plural in the preceding verse to the singular is certainly possible: the form of Antichrist may be again for a moment rising before the Apostle's eyes. But it is simpler to take the words as a neuter, "from evil." (Compare Matt. v. 39., vi. 13.) It is an evil common to himself and them, the evil of persecution, and from which, feeling for them rather than for himself, he prays that they may be delivered.

4. πεποίθαμεν δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ.] Here,

as elsewhere, the Apostle speaks of believing, hoping, doing all things in Christ. We lead an ordinary life, as well as a religious one; but with the Apostle his ordinary life is his religious one, and hence he uses religious expressions in reference to all that he says and does.

ἐφ' ὑμᾶς] expresses that this confidence, though in the Lord, reaches also to the Thessalonians themselves.

It is characteristic of St. Paul to admonish under the form of praise. As in familiar language, we say, "I am sure you will do it," with the meaning, "You ought to do it;"—so the Apostle is confident of his Thessalonian converts, meaning thereby to establish them in the faith.

5. "I am confident," the Apostle has just said, "you will do and are doing what I bid;" and yet, with a sort of happy inconsistency, he adds,— "May God perfect you!" They are to trust as he trusts, also to themselves; and still he prays God to guide their hearts into the love of God and the imitation of the patience of Christ, in waiting for *his* appearing. Comp. 1 Thess. i. 10.

τοῦ χριστοῦ.] Genitive whether

4 you from evil. And we have confidence in the Lord touching you, that ye both do and will do the things
5 which we command you and ye have done.¹ And the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into *the patient waiting for Christ.*

6 Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the

¹ *Omit* and ye have done.

of object or subject, whether “patient waiting for Christ, or patience which Christ gives,” uncertain. Compare ὑπακοὴ χριστοῦ, εἰρήνη χριστοῦ, ὑπομονὴ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

6. From the ἡ παραγγέλλομεν of the fourth verse, the Apostle passes on to particular instructions; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, “I solemnly enjoin you.”

The remaining paragraph of this Epistle is important, as bearing on the degree and manner of authority which the Apostle exercised over the Churches. It seems to have been of a mixed kind, partly official and partly moral, springing from the sense of what the Apostle had done for the Church, in bringing them to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus, yet also claimed by him as a right. In any voluntary society like the early Christian Church, the enforcement of such an authority must have depended on feeling and opinion. There was no other way of enforcement in the last resort but the separation of the individual offending, or, rather, the separation of the society itself from the individual. Of this we find several traces, not in the set form of excommunica-

tion or exclusion from the Lord’s supper (although such exclusion was doubtless implied in it); rather it is a counsel or sentence of the Apostle, more or less formal in different cases, intended to exert a moral, and apparently even a physical effect, and not always given where it appears to have been deserved. The incestuous person is to be delivered to Satan, not that he may perish everlastingly, but for “the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.” So Hymenæus and Philetus, “that they may learn not to blaspheme.” In the Galatian Church, on the other hand, notwithstanding the rebellion against the Apostle’s authority, nothing is said of his opponents ceasing to be the Church. In the Philippians, he tolerates those who preach “Christ of contention.” To the Thessalonian Church he says, that if there are any wild enthusiasts neglecting their daily occupation, they are to hold no communication with them, as he wrote to the Corinthians, “not to keep company with fornicators.” But it is remarkable that, in the Epistle in which this very precept occurs, he says nothing of the

ἦν παρελάβετε¹ παρ' ἡμῶν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε πῶς δεῖ⁷
 μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἡτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ δωρεὰν⁸
 ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ
 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας² ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί
 τινα ὑμῶν. οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς⁹
 τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἦμεν¹⁰
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει
 ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴδὲ ἐσθιέτω. ἀκούομεν γάρ τινας περιπα-¹¹
 τοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως, μὴδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περι-
 εργαζομένους· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρα-¹²
 καλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ χριστῷ³, ἵνα μετὰ ἡσυχίας
 ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί,¹³
 μὴ ἐγκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες. εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ¹⁴
 λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε μὴ

¹ παρέλαβε.² νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν.³ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ.

expulsion of those who maintained that the Resurrection was passed already. 1 Cor. xv. 12.

στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς . . . ἀτάκτως.] Compare ὑποστέλλειν ἑαυτόν, Gal. ii. 12.

κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν, according to the lesson.] As in ver. 10. he says, "While we were yet with you, this we commanded you, that, if a man will not work, neither let him eat." Comp. 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12.

7. In exhorting you not to be idle and walk disorderly, we do but exhort you to follow our example, who were not disorderly among you.

πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς and ὅτι οὐκ, κ. τ. λ.] Both follow οἶδατε: "Ye know how ye ought to imitate us; ye know that we were not disorderly." The latter clause may be considered as an explanation of πῶς.

8. Neither were we idle nor ate our bread for nothing, [re-

ceiving it] at the hands of any, but we ate it, toiling day and night that we might not be a burden to any. Comp. 1 Cor. ix., where the Apostle speaks in the same tone. He might claim support of them, but he would not; and the very fact of his not doing so they seem to have turned into a charge against him, of not being an Apostle. So here he guards, in the following verse, against this being construed into a giving up of his authority.

9. οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν.] I do not mean to say that I have no right or power to claim support from you, but I give up the right that I may be an example to you. οὐχ ὅτι is a restriction on what preceded.

10. καὶ γάρ, for even.] For while we were with you, we gave you precept as well as example, to the effect, that if one would not work, neither let him eat. The καὶ connects with the 6th and 7th verses; while the γάρ gives the

7 lesson* which ye¹ received of us. For yourselves know
 8 how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves
 disorderly among you; neither did we eat any man's
 bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail
 night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any
 9 of you: not because we have not power, but to make
 10 ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. For² when
 we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any
 11 would not work, neither let* him eat. For we hear
 that there are some which walk among you disorderly,
 12 busy* only with what is not their own business. Now
 them that are such we command and exhort in the³
 Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and
 13 eat their own bread. But ye, brethren, be not weary
 14 in well doing. And if any man obey not our word by

¹ He.

² Add even.

³ By our.

reason or proof of what preceded. We exhort you, and while we were with you we exhorted you, which last is also the proof that it was only as an example we wronged ourselves.

There is a distinction between the minister and the hearer of the Gospel, the clergy and the laity, the Apostle and the disciple; and St. Paul, as a preacher of the Gospel, makes himself as the hearer "to win some."

11. For we hear that there are some among you who walk disorderly, doing nothing but what is useless, busy only with what is not their own business. Comp. Quintilian: "Afer venuste Mallium Suram multum in agendo discursantem, salientem, manus jactantem, togam dejicientem et reponentem, non agere dixit sed satagere." Compare also Plato's definition of δικαιοσύνη* τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, in Rep. iv.

12. μετὰ ἡσυχίας is opposed to περιεργία, as ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον το μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενοι, "without raising a disturbance."

13. μὴ ἐγκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες.] After rebuking some for giving up their daily employments, for not eating in the sweat of their brow, he passes on to entreat those who had not incurred the reproach, to continue as they were, not to be weary of well doing.

14. This verse has received three explanations, the first two of which need only be mentioned to be set aside:—(1.) Indicate this man to me by letter, which is equally objectionable, on the ground of the sense and of the language. Even though διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς might mean "by the letter in which you answer this," the words μὴ συναρμύγνυσθαι (the true reading) would not cohere. Such a request seems

συναναμίγνυσθαι¹ αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐντραπῇ· καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν, 15
 ἡγείσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος 16
 τῆς εἰρήνης δώη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ παντὸς ἐν παντὶ
 τόπῳ,² ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν σημεῖον ἐν 17
 πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ. οὕτως γράφω. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν 18
 Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.³

¹ καὶ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε.

² τρόπῳ.

³ Add Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δευτέρα ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν.

also to be out of character with the simplicity of the Apostolical age. (2.) Set a mark on this man by the Epistle, *i. e.*, pointing out what precept in the Epistle he has disobeyed, which is over-refined and farfetched. The obvious explanation is the true one: — “Set a mark upon this man with a view to holding no intercourse with him;” the words τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, “to our word as communicated in this Epistle,” being taken with ὑπακούει.

15. καί is used here as a weaker ἀλλά, this verse being really adversative to the preceding. The meaning is: — “Hold no intercourse with the man, but do not count him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.” The flaw may have arisen from the antithetical negative and positive form of ver. 15. Or the Apostle may not feel the first thought and afterthought to be inconsistent; or καί may be used from a mere awkwardness of language in consequence of the coming ἀλλά.

this epistle, note that man, and have no company with
 15 him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as
 16 an enemy, but admonish him as a brother. And* may
 the Lord of peace himself give you peace always every-
 where.¹ The Lord be with you all.

17 The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is
 18 the token in every epistle: so I write. The grace of
 our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.²

¹ By all means.

² Add The second epistle to the Thessalonians was written from Athens.

16. αὐτὸς δέ] partly expresses the earnestness of the Apostle's prayer, and is in part opposed to peace obtained by merely human efforts. "Have peace among yourselves, and may the Lord himself give you peace!" a valediction not without a latent allusion to the disorder of the Church.

17. ὁ ἀσπασμός.] See note at the end of the Epistle to the Galatians. ὁ refers to the sentence

preceding, and not to the word ἀσπασμός, comp. ii. 14.

ἐν πασῇ ἐπιστολῇ. See Essay "On the Probability that many of St. Paul's Epistles have been lost."

18. μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν,] not with the disorderly members, as well as with those who walk orderly, but as above (i. 3.), pleonastic.

ON THE MAN OF SIN.

WHETHER the prophecy of the man of sin is fulfilled or unfulfilled, — whether it is to be explained from the immediate circle of the Apostle's life, or from the distant future, — whether it relates to an individual or to an idea, to the Pharisees or to the Gnostics, — whether “the man of sin” himself be Nero as Chrysostom imagined, or the impersonation of heresy as Theodoret and others, or the pope as the reformers, or the reformers as the pope, or Mahomet as the Greek Church, or the Emperor Caligula as Grotius, or Titus as Wetstein, or Simon Magus as Hammond, or Simon the son of Gioras as Usteri and Le Clerc, or Cromwell as Englishmen who were his subjects sometimes said, or the French revolution, or Napoleon, as the last generation, or some embodiment or power of evil which is yet to come, as was the opinion of several of the Fathers, and is also that of some modern writers; — whether “that which letteth, and he which letteth, and will let until he be taken out of the way,” is the Roman Empire, which was likewise a common opinion of the Fathers, or the German Empire, as was maintained by the early opponents of the papacy, or the purpose of God that the Gospel should be first preached, as was held by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, or the outpouring of spiritual gifts as Chrysostom inclined to think, or Nero as Wetstein, or Vitellius, who was proconsul of Judea in Caligula's time, as Grotius, or Elijah the prophet, who “must first come” according to the Jewish belief, or St. Paul himself as a recent interpreter; — whether the temple of God is the Christian Church or the temple at Jerusalem, or both, or neither, that is to say some temple hereafter to be built, or the temple of the human soul, a figure which the Apostle elsewhere employs; —

whether the coming of Christ be His coming to judge the world at the last day, or the anticipation of that judgment on the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem, or the one the lesser, the other the greater fulfilment of the same prediction ; — are some of the principal questions which in ancient or modern times have been raised by interpreters respecting the second chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Most of these questions may be set aside, as having no real bearing upon the interpretation of the Epistle. They are not found but brought there. When it is remembered that at this period of his life, as the words of the Epistle imply, St. Paul himself expected “to remain and be alive” (1 Thess. iv. 17.) in the day of the Lord, and that he expressly states that the coming of Christ was to be preceded by Antichrist, and that the coming of Antichrist was again restrained by that which let, it is clear that the vision of the future must be confined within narrow bounds, that is, within ten, twenty, or thirty years at the utmost, if it be not that the acts of the drama are contemporary, or certainly very near, “for the mystery of iniquity already worketh.” It is not, therefore, in the wider sphere of the history of the world, but in the life of the Apostle, in the cities of Asia or Judea, perhaps at Rome in the days of Caligula or Nero, that we must look for the events, or shadow of events, which form the basis of the prophecy.

It is necessary to warn the reader, that we are not about to add another to the multitude of guesses which exist already. Our inquiry will relate rather to the style and structure of the prophecy, than to the opinions of interpreters respecting the facts which may be regarded as its fulfilment. The real facts may not have been recorded; they may have been too minute to be observed by us; they may also have been transfigured before the spiritual eye, until they are no longer recognisable as historical events. What we are attempting is not the solution of a riddle, or the reading of a hieroglyphic, but the comparison of one part of Scripture with

another; and the comprehension of it, if possible, not in the letter but in the spirit.

And although it is true that there may be a disadvantage in excluding from our consideration all those topics from which the study of this remarkable passage has hitherto derived its interest and zest, let us pause to remember also how many dangers are avoided. We shall run no risk of attributing an exaggerated importance to the history of our own time. We shall be under no temptation to point the words of St. Paul against an ancient enemy. We shall have no inclination to adapt the proportions of lesser events to the main event or figure which we make the centre of our system. We may hope to escape the charge which has been brought against writers on these subjects, that they explain "history by prophecy." There will be no fear of our forging weapons of persecution for one body or party of Christians to use against another. We shall be in no danger of losing the simplicity of the Gospel in Apocalyptic fancies. Our own opinions, perhaps even changes of opinion, will not be imposed on others as an interpretation of Scripture, with a degree of authority which is only the veil of their extreme uncertainty. All these reproaches, however unconsciously and innocently they may be incurred by good and learned men, are injuries to the truth and dishonours to the word of God.

"The man of sin" is not a mere detached prophecy. It formed a leading subject of the Apostle's teaching. He introduces it with express reference to the fact, that on his visit to the Thessalonians he had warned them of it; and this not only in general terms, but with special mention of the times of his appearing, and the influences by which his revelation was withheld. "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you I told you these things?" What he had told them is contained in the description which precedes, and which is definite and precise; that man of sin, "the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple

of God, shewing himself that he is God." All this was not new to the Thessalonian converts; they even knew of that which withheld, that he might be revealed in his own time. The Apostle adds a few other traits in the verses which follow; "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and lying signs and wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish."

The sources of our information are so limited, that we are able to pronounce at once, that we know of no person or power existing in the lifetime of the Apostle, to which most of the above features will apply. We cannot say that "the man of sin" was Caligula, whose reign had terminated about twelve years before this; or Nero, who had just mounted the imperial throne, or Simon the son of Gioras, the leader of the fanatics at Jerusalem, who had hardly come forth into public view; still less Vitellius, Vespasian, or Titus. Such guesses are only more probable than the wider ones, because they relate to persons who were actually or almost within the horizon of the Apostle's eye; but they are inconsistent with the general character of the prophecy, and offer no remarkable coincidences with its details. In any succession of historical events, it is possible to find war and peace, order and anarchy, a king and a usurper, a lawless force and a restraining power. General resemblances of this kind prove nothing; the good and evil of every age find an expression in the language of prophecy. In times of crisis or revolution men naturally apply the words of the Apostle to themselves. Even the quiet tenor of ordinary life has been "set on fire" by the torch of enthusiasm. But we must not confuse the original meaning of the prophecy with the application of it which is on the lips of the preacher after 1800 years. The vision of evil which the Apostle saw was around and very near him; it hung like a cloud over the first age of the Church; it cannot be dispersed in generalities; we look in vain for it in the distant future.

If, confessing that no known person or event agrees with the description of the prophecy, we try another method, and interpret the second chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians en-

tirely from itself, we shall probably infer that, by the terms "man of sin," "son of perdition," St. Paul has in view a real person, and that by his "sitting in the temple of God" is meant literally his enthronement in the temple at Jerusalem. The grossness of the delusion which is attributed to his followers falls in with such an interpretation. The word "apostasy" is a further indication that the new God or teacher stands in some relation either to Judaism or Christianity. He is not a mere ordinary individual coming forth from the crowd and practising an imposture, any more than he is a statue of wood or stone, but the author or symbol of some new form of spiritual evil;—a false Christ or false prophet, a Simon Magus, an Eleasai, or a Barcochab. The way has been preparing for him, underground in the hearts of men; he is waiting for his appointed hour. The founder of a false religion, claiming divine honours, announcing himself as the new God of the Jewish Temple, influencing the minds of men by every sort of magic art and spiritual deception, would most adequately correspond to the description of the Apostle. Such a one, he would seem to say, was to exist for a short time, and then vanish away, not before the superior power of truth, but before the actual force of Christ and his angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance.

Natural as such an interpretation may appear, it would probably be erroneous, and for this reason, that, like many other interpretations of prophecy, it would rest too much on the words themselves, without considering the style of the language or the parallelisms in St. Paul's own writings. The first question respecting all prophecies is, whether the language of them is figurative or literal, or how far figurative and how far literal. Figurative language will commonly detect itself, as in the trumpets, vials, numbers, of the Book of Revelation. The very symmetry of it will indicate its true nature. Events in history are not carried on by sevens, or by twelves; nor are they exactly limited by periods of time. Nor are the powers of nature or the kingdoms of this world divisible into four or ten. Accordingly, in such instances, we readily separate the

framework and compartments of the picture from the life and motion of the figures. But there are other passages in which the form and the thought are more closely united, in which the garment clings to the person, and cannot be put off without destroying the life of the prophecy. Interpretation of prophecy will, in these cases, be an imperfect analysis of what it is really impossible to analyse. Especially will this be so where the figures are traditional, and have acquired from use and familiarity a sort of permanent and apparently historical character. The vision of events themselves is then circumscribed by the circle of prophetic symbols.

Taking in this important element, we find in Ezekiel and Daniel, in the discourses of our Lord respecting the end of the world, in the Epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy, as well as in the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, and in the Book of Revelation, a series of images of the evil which was to come upon the world in the latter days, all together furnishing a sort of chain of prophecy between the Old Testament and the New, which gradually extends and seems to pass from the realms of history into the spiritual and unseen world. One of the first links in this chain is Ezekiel's description of Gog and Magog, the symbol of the tribes of the North, whom God will bring against the land of Israel, that he may be glorified in their destruction (xxxviii. 16, 17.). This prophecy, which is the beginning of many others, itself implies that it was not uttered by Ezekiel for the first time:—"Art thou he of whom I have spoken in old time by my servants the prophets of Israel, which prophesied in those days many years that I would bring thee against them?" (Compare Jer. ii.—iv.) The minds of the Jewish prophets in Babylon had been led to dwell on the powers of the North, since the Scythian tribes had spread themselves over Asia. Where could they find a more striking image of the power of God than in this mighty people, "covering" the world "like a cloud," and suddenly, like a cloud, passing away,—which had probably in Josiah's reign overspread Palestine itself? They had almost been seen by Ezekiel in the days of his youth, and the remembrance of

them had stamped themselves for ages on the Eastern world. His prophecy of them is little more than history, inspired only by the consciousness that there is One that ruleth among the children of men. There is no indication that Gog is other than a person, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. Nor is there apparently any form of spiritual evil that is symbolised in him; he is but the great enemy of Israel, who comes up with all his hosts against the people of God.

Later in the series are the prophecies of Daniel, respecting the little horn and the kings of the North and South (vii. and xi.), which, though retaining a certain degree of resemblance to the prophecy of Ezekiel, present also a striking difference. It is a difference in spirit as well as in style and subject. We seem to have advanced another step in the revelation of God to man; with the vision of the kingdoms of this world mingles also the vision of the final judgment. Every one admits and loves to trace the connexion between the evangelical prophecies, as they are often termed, and the Gospel itself. But perhaps it has not been equally observed that the Apocalyptic prophecies are also a link of connexion between the Old Testament and the New. As the former anticipate the moral and spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ, so do the latter anticipate the universality of the Gospel. No two books of the Old Testament itself bear a closer resemblance to each other, than the book of Daniel, the Apocalypse of the Old Testament, and the book of Revelation, which may be termed by its Greek name the Apocalypse of the New. Were the one placed at the end of the Old Testament, and the other at the beginning of the New, they would seem, more than any of the canonical writings, to bridge the chasm which separates, or appears to separate, the two parts of the Sacred Volume. Both alike differ from the older prophecies, in extending the purposes of God to all time and to all mankind. The earlier history of the Jews was itself a kind of prophecy, the earlier prophecies were a kind of history of the Jews and their neighbours. There was a time when other nations seemed to be out of the way,

and only occasionally to share in the mercies and judgments of God. But now the prophet lifted up his eyes east and west, north and south, to all countries of the earth, and saw in the history of the world the prelude to the final judgment.

This is the kind of difference which separates the two prophecies of Daniel from that of Ezekiel respecting Gog and Magog. The one is a part of the history of the Jews; the other is a prophecy of the latter days, an anticipation of the judgment to come. That of Ezekiel is the germ of the other, and stands in the same relation to it, as the vision of the dry bones, in the same prophet, to the description of the general resurrection in the seventh and twelfth chapters of Daniel, or the vision of the Temple and the portions of the tribes, to the new Jerusalem and the 144,000, in the Book of Revelation. In Ezekiel we have not yet burst the bonds of the temporal dispensation; in Daniel we already pass within the vail into another world. They occupy different places in Jewish history, the very dispersion of the Jews in Asia and Egypt tending to break down the force of local feelings, and leading them to include all nations within the circle of God's providence.

Parallel with this enlargement of the symbols of prophecy is the new and nobler meaning which is given to the worship of the tabernacle and to the Jewish history, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. A light is shed on both, derived, perhaps, from a wider experience of mankind, yet not the less coming down "from the author and father of lights." First the prophets, then the law, become instinct with the life of the Gospel. The only difference is that in prophecy the new takes the place of the old, in a more gradual and less perceptible manner. The law is done away in Christ; the temple made with hands is destroyed, that another temple, not made with hands, may be raised up; and the discourses of Christ respecting the end of the world, gather together in one all the threads of Old Testament prophecy.

Thus, through the whole of the books of Scripture, from the earliest to the latest, the spirit of prophecy might be said to be

changing with the increasing purpose of God to man. But though the spirit changed, the imagery remained the same. The two prophecies which have been referred to, present more than one minute similarity with the second chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians; as, for example, the insolence and impiety of the king "who shall exalt and magnify himself above every God," xi. 36., which may be compared with 2 Thess. ii. 4., "Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or worshipped," and "the pollution of the sanctuary of strength, and the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," xi. 31., quoted by our Lord, which recalls "the man of sin sitting in the temple of God;" also the words "have intelligence with them which forsake the holy covenant," which are a periphrasis for "the apostasy." It is not quite certain, nor is it important for our object to know, what was the original meaning of the passages of Daniel; but whether they allude to the kings of Syria and Egypt, or in part also to the Romans, or relate to some unknown course of events, their original meaning in the Book of Daniel has no necessary connexion with their use and application by the Apostle. We might say, in the language of Bossuet, that St. Paul spoke by the spirit of Daniel, as St. Peter spoke by the mouth of Joel on the day of Pentecost, or as St. John himself spoke by the spirit of Ezekiel in Rev. xx. 8., where the names Gog and Magog are retained, though the meaning is generalised. Many other instances may be found in which the general subject is changed, though the ornaments remain. The same symbols which once referred to the Temple or to the tribes of Israel, are again employed, without any precise meaning, of the Church and the world at large.

It does not, therefore, follow, that, because the words of the prophecy of Daniel, or of our Lord, refer to the Romans, that they necessarily received this explanation from St. Paul, any more than in the Book of Revelation, because mention is made of the hundred and forty and four thousand of the tribes of Israel, it follows that salvation was first to be given to the house of Israel. The forms of

good and evil are idealised in the language of prophecy. The same images are handed down from one generation of prophets to another; but the state of the world, which is symbolised by them, may change and become different. As in the interpretation of prophecy, many successions of events have, in different ages of the world, been thought to correspond with the words of Daniel, or of the Apocalypse; so with the prophets themselves, there is a growth and adaptation of the same prophecy to various stages of human history. Not only are there many mirrors of the meaning of prophecy in the history of the world, but more than this — the last prophecy is itself, as it were, the glass through which the prophet looks forward into the future.

Hence the imagery of a prophecy in the New Testament will not be the clue to its true nature. Nay, it may be very far removed from it, sometimes even absolutely opposed to it. For it may refer to what is literal and historical, but the thing signified in the New Testament may be spiritual and ideal. Ordinary quotations from the Old Testament are to be explained by their context in the New Testament, not by their place in the Old. The same rule is applicable to the prophecies of the Old Testament when transferred to the New. In both, the spirit has commonly taken the place of the letter, the evangelical truth has lighted up the prophetic symbol. So that the true key to the interpretation of a prophecy of St. Paul, is not the meaning of the same imagery in the Old Testament, but the character of his own writings, "*Non, nisi ex ipso Paulo, Paulum potes interpretari.*" The special sense is to be gathered from those points which he has distinct from the Old Testament, rather than those which he has in common with it. We do not feel certain that the man of sin, sitting in the temple of God, is more than a personification of the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet; suggested, perhaps, by the worship of the Emperor which St. Paul had seen in the cities to which he had travelled, or by the attempt of Caligula, a few years previously, to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. But he that "letteth, and will let, until he be taken out of the way," and the lying signs and

wonders, with which the man of sin was to be accompanied, are traits which are peculiar to the Apostle, some of which are found elsewhere in his Epistles. Here, then, whether we are able to discern it or not, is something which we may naturally look for, not in the clouds of heaven, but in the history of the Apostolic age.

In many other places of the New Testament, and even of the writings of St. Paul himself, mention occurs of strange forms of evil. It is observable that all of them are spiritual. There are differences in the description of them, not unlike the difference which we may suppose to have existed between the author of the Epistles in which they are spoken of, St. Paul, and St. John; but they nowhere convey the impression that they represent political changes or revolutions in the kingdoms of men. The one Apostle is, as it were, hastening, amid many impediments, to the coming of the day of the Lord; the other is calmly waiting for the events that must shortly come to pass. Both seem to feel the evil of the world as a sign of "the last time;" the one, near and present, as if involved in the conflict; the other, far off, separated from it rather than warring with it. Already there are many Antichrists, says St. John, and "Antichrist is he that denieth the Father and the Son." So in the first Epistle to Timothy, iv. 1—3., it is said, "that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." Compare 2 Tim. iii. 1. The Apostle appears to apprehend the same danger in Col. ii. 8. 16. And in the Second Epistle of Peter, ii. 1., iii. 3., there is the same pervading idea of the latter days, in which "false prophets shall rise up, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them." The evil of which the New Testament prophecies speak, is not the idolatry of the heathen, nor the conquests of great empires, but the apostasy of sometime believers, or the fanaticism of

the Jews. Of something of this kind, not of Roman governors, or Jewish high priests, the Apostle is speaking when he says : — “ We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places.” The temporal Antichrist, like the temporal Israel, has passed into a spiritual one.

Such passages are a much safer guide to the interpretation of the one we are considering, than the meaning of similar passages in the Old Testament. For they indicate to us the habitual thought of the Apostle’s mind ; “ a falling away first,” suggested, probably, by the wavering which he saw around him among his own converts, the grievous wolves that were entering into the Church of Ephesus, Acts xx. 29. ; the turning away of all them of Asia, in 2 Tim. i. 15. When we consider that his own converts, and his Jewish opponents, or half converts, were all the world to him, that through them, as it were in a glass, he appeared to himself to see the workings of human nature generally, we understand how this double image of good and evil should have presented itself to him, and the kind of necessity which he felt that Christ and Antichrist should alternate with each other. It was not that he foresaw some great conflict, decisive of the destinies of mankind. What he anticipated far more nearly resembled the spiritual combat in the seventh chapter of the Romans. It was the same struggle, written in large letters, as Plato might have said, not on the tables of the heart, but on the scene around ; the world turned inside out, as it might be described ; evil as it is in the sight of God, and as it realises itself to the conscience, putting on an external shape, transforming itself into a person.

Separating the prophecy, then, into two parts, its external form and internal meaning, the one part is to be explained from the Old Testament ; that is to say, it is the repetition of the images of Ezekiel and Daniel, which naturally receive a more precise character from the associations of the time in which St. Paul lived ; while the other part, or inward meaning, is to be illustrated by other passages in St. Paul’s own writings, in which he speaks of the perilous times of the

latter days ; of false prophets transforming themselves into Apostles of Christ ; of Satan transfigured into an angel of light ; of religious licentiousness ; of all them of Asia falling away from him. Of all these opponents of the Gospel the man of sin is the concentrated image ; they are already working, but are at present underground, not yet bursting forth to envelope mankind. Gnosticism, or Orientalism, or Judaism, the evil of the world as it awoke to the consciousness of higher truths, the swarming heresy of an age of religious excitement, and the persecution of the followers of Christ and his Apostles, all probably, as in the Book of Revelation, mingled in the vision "of the things that should shortly come to pass."

The personification is characteristic of the Apostle and his age. Sin, the law, faith, love, the old man, the new man, are all personified by him. The figure under which he speaks of "the man of sin," "the son of perdition," is really of the same kind, though apparently different. What are to us abstractions are to the Apostle persons, "living creatures with hands and feet." No difference in ways of thought can be much greater than this: it is one for which it is difficult to allow enough in the interpretation of Scripture. Fragments of prophecy and the prophetic manner of conception are always coming in, even where the general style of the writing is prosaic and matter of fact.

There are other traces in this passage (shall we say of the mode of speech or of thought?) of the Apostle and his age, as for example in its alternating or antithetical character. The coming of the Lord and the revelation of the man of sin, Christ and Antichrist, are opposed to each other by a sort of necessity, as the revelation of wrath and mercy, the law and faith, Adam and Christ, in the Epistle to the Romans. Like the shadow and light, they are never separate, equally dividing the world or following one another. And the symbols of the Old Testament itself receive a new colour and association from passing events, such as the worship of the emperors, and in particular the attempt of Caligula to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. Lastly, it was a current belief of the times

in which the Apostle lived that the coming of Messiah was to be preceded by the coming of Antichrist, to whom the prophecies respecting Gog and Magog were referred by the Rabbis. (See the passages quoted in Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, part ii. 257—259.) Nor is there any trace that the Apostle regarded this Jewish belief as a new revelation to himself. There is reason to think that he did no more than receive it from his contemporaries.

Thus there are altogether four elements which enter into the conception of the man of sin : — (1.) the traditional imagery of the elder prophets ; (2.) the style of the Apostle and his age ; (3.) the impression of recent historical events—which supply the form ; (4.) the state of the world and the Church, and the consciousness that, where good is, evil must ever be in aggravated proportions, which supply the matter of the prophecy.

Still we have not made a nearer approach to the true interpretation of “him that letteth,” an expression on which no light is thrown, either by the writings of St. Paul, or by the symbolical language of the Old Testament. We cannot err in supposing that it intimates St. Paul’s belief that the coming of Antichrist was not yet. Though already working, it was restrained by a superior power. The Thessalonians were exhorted not to be troubled in mind, as though the day of the Lord was at hand, for it was to be preceded by the manifestation of the man of sin. But it was still further delayed by the interposition of “him that letteth.” So far all is consistent. Christ, Antichrist, the restrainer of Antichrist, are the triple links of the chain by which the world is held together. In what person or thing to find the last of the three is the point of difficulty.

No stress can be laid on the use of the masculine, “him that letteth,” because it is immediately followed by that of the neuter, “that which letteth,” and may be accounted for by parallelism with the man of sin in a preceding verse. More truly might it be argued that the use of the neuter excludes the idea of a person. Nero might have been *ὁ κατέχων*, but could not have been *τὸ κατέχων*. The double use of the masculine and the neuter in some degree favours

the interpretation of the prophecy which identifies the Roman empire with the restraining power. For some interpretation seems to be required which is applicable to a thing as well as to a person, as, for example, in the case of the Roman empire, τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων may contain an allusion to the empire and to the emperor. A more important circumstance than this strikes us in the examination of the passage: it is the apparent secrecy which the Apostle observes in speaking of the restraining power. It is an enigma which he will not reveal, which he had explained while he was yet with them, and dare not now write "with pen and ink." It reminds us of the number of the beast in the Book of Revelation. It recalls the words of Daniel, xii. 10.: — "None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." It quickens our curiosity to know what that power could have been, which was contemporary with the Apostle, and which he would not openly mention to his converts.

Two answers suggest themselves; conjectures, it is true, because it is impossible to do more than form conjectures which may be consistent or not inconsistent with the spirit of the prophecy; but they are not, however, to be rejected on that ground, if nothing better can be offered. The first is the Roman empire; the second, the Jewish law. According to the view which separates the traditional form from the substance of the prophecy, it would be no fatal objection to the first of these two interpretations, that the figure of Antichrist himself is taken from the image of the Roman emperors sitting in the temples as gods, while he that letteth is again the Roman emperor regarded from a new point of view. More real is the difficulty of supposing that St. Paul could have expected that, within a few years, the solid frame of the Roman empire was to break up and pass away. It is unlikely that he should have even taken the kingdoms of this world into the horizon of his spiritual vision. To say that the heresies of the Ebionites or Nicolaitanes were restrained by the continuance of the Roman government, would be far-fetched: the two are not "*in pari materiâ*." It might remove this difficulty if we could suppose the revelation of the man of sin to represent the

rebellion of the Jews, but would leave the original one, how to account for the mystery which the Apostle observes about him which letteth. More natural is it to explain "that which letteth" as the Jewish law, the check on spiritual licentiousness which for a little while was holding in its chains the swarms of Jewish heretics, who were soon to be let loose and sweep over the earth. Whatever other objections may be entertained to the last of the two interpretations, it has, at any rate, the advantage of consistency. It does not confuse the spiritual and historical, or take us away from the world of the human heart of which the Scripture speaks, to the world of objects and events.

Good and evil seem often to lie together flat upon the world's surface. At other times they start up, like armed men, and prepare for the last struggle. There is a state in the individual soul, in which it has entered into rest, and has its conversation in heaven, and is a partaker of the kingdom of God. There is a state also in which it is divided between two, not unconscious of good, but overpowered by evil, living in what St. Paul terms the body of death. There is a third state in which it is neither conscious of good nor overpowered by evil, but in which it "leads the life of all men" acting under the influence of habit, law, opinion. All these three states have their parallels in the history of the world. In all of them, whether in the individual or in the world, whether arising out of the purpose of God or the nature of man, there sometimes seems to be a kind of necessity which will not suffer them to be other than they are. The first is that state for which the believer looks when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of God and Christ. The second is that state of the world, seen also to him, but unseen to men in general, in which, in the language of prophecy, "the wicked is revealed," in which the elements of good and evil separate and decompose themselves, in anticipation of the final judgment. The third is that fixed order of the world in which we live, which surrounds us on every side with its restraints, social, legal, moral, which, if it be not very

good, is not very evil; which "letteth and will let" as long as human nature lasts. Such "a let" to the evil of men was the Roman empire; such "a let," even when it had lost its inspired character, was the law of the Jews. Whether either of these, or both of them combined in the same way that in the Book of Revelation Rome and Jerusalem combine to form the image of the last enemy, suggested to the Apostle the thought of "that which let;" whether the political order of the world, which was typified by them, seemed to him for a time to interpose itself against the manifestation of the man of sin, is uncertain. Such is a natural adaptation for us to make of the words of the prophecy; it is also a consistent interpretation of them when translated out of the symbolism of Ezekiel and Daniel into more general language. To suppose that there is to be some greater deluge of evil than any that has already poured over the world, at the fall of the Roman Empire, or in the tenth century, some louder shriek of the human race in its agony than at the destruction of Jerusalem, to be heard again at the expiration of two thousand years, adds nothing to the credibility of the Apostle. Least of all can we imagine him to refer to a "gigantic" development of the human intellect, which is at present believed to be held with a chain by the governments of mankind. Such opinions draw us away from the healthy atmosphere of history and experience into the unseen future; they project to an unimaginable distance, what to the Apostle was near and present. No test can be applied to them; their truth or falsehood, when we are in our graves, we shall never know. They gain no additional witness from the willingness of their authors to stake the inspiration of Scripture on the historic certainty of the event. So long as we delight to trace coincidences, or to make pictures in religion; so long as the human mind continues to prefer the extraordinary to the common, such interpretations of prophecy, in forms more or less idealized or refined, adapted to different age or capacities, will never fail. But the Spirit of prophecy in every age lives not in signs and wonders, but in the divine sense of good and evil in our own hearts, and in the world around us.

ON THE PROBABILITY THAT MANY OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES HAVE BEEN LOST.

ἐν πασῇ ἐπιστολῇ—"In every Epistle."—2 Thess. iii. 17.

THESE three words, dropping out by the way, open a field for reflection to those who maintain the genuineness of the Epistle in which they occur, because they imply, or at least make it probable, that St. Paul wrote other Epistles, which were never reckoned among the Canonical books, and of which all trace must therefore have disappeared in ecclesiastical history, even in that early age in which the Canon was beginning to be fixed.

Other expressions in the writings of the Apostle lead to the same inference. In the second chapter of the Epistle from which they are taken, which it is important to observe is almost the earliest of those extant, and the words of which cannot therefore refer to the Epistles which are familiar to us, he twice speaks of "a letter as from us," as a common and possible occurrence (ver. 2. 15.). In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, x. 10., the Apostle supposes his adversaries to say "that his letters are weighty and powerful;" to which he replies in the next verse, "Such as we are in word by letters when absent, such will we also be in deed when we are present." Is it likely that the Apostle is here referring to the First Epistle only? The words of 1 Cor v. 9., "I wrote unto you in the Epistle," probably allude, notwithstanding the tense, to the letter which he was writing at the time, and have, therefore, nothing to do with our present inquiry. But the general character of both Epistles to the Corinthians leads to the conviction that he was in habits of correspondence with the teachers of the Church of Corinth. It appears also from 1 Cor. xvi. 3. that he was intending (although

the intention in this instance was not fulfilled) to send messengers with letters of introduction, as we term them, to the Church at Jerusalem; — letters of Christian courtesy, of which one only, — the short Epistle to Philemon — has been preserved to after ages. Similar occasions must often have occurred in the course of a long life and ministry; St. Paul did not cease to be St. Paul in his feelings towards others, because what he wrote in the privacy of the closet was not destined to be read afterwards by the whole Christian world. Once more, in the Epistle to the Colossians, iv. 16., the Apostle enjoins the Churches of Colossæ and Laodicea to interchange the letters which they had received from him. It is only a conjecture, and one which is not favoured by the similarity of the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, that the Epistle here referred to as the Epistle to the Laodiceans is the extant Epistle to the Ephesians. Here then are signs of another lost Epistle. The allusion in the Second Epistle of St. Peter, iii. 15, 16., “Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according unto the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction,” may be mentioned also, though it has only a general bearing on our present subject.

(ii.) The character of the Apostle is a further presumption on the same side of the question. He who lives in himself the life of all the Churches, who is praying for his converts night and day, and who allows no other concerns to occupy his mind, — of such an one is it reasonable to suppose that, during his whole ministry, to all his followers in many lands, he would write no other Epistles but those which have come down to us? One might have thought that every year, almost every month, he would have found some exhortation to give to them; that he would have received news of them from some quarter or other touching divisions which required healing, or persecution under which his children needed comfort, or advances of the truth which called for his counsel and sympathy. One might have

thought that his affection for them, and his extreme (may we call it?) sensitiveness to their feelings towards himself, would have led him to make use of every opportunity for writing to them or hearing from them. He who had no rest in his soul until he had sent Timothy to know their state, could not have borne to have passed a great portion of his life without knowledge of them or intercourse with them. But if so, the Canonical Epistles or Letters cannot be the only ones of which the Apostle was the author. For, including the Pastoral Epistles, their number is but thirteen, not one in two years for the entire active portion of the Apostle's life, and these very unequally spread over different periods. Of the first ten or fifteen years no Epistle is extant; then two short ones begin the series; after an interval of some years succeeded by another short one: then in a single year follow the three larger Epistles together, more than half the whole: lastly, in the years of his imprisonment, we have not much more than a short Epistle for every year. Is it likely that there were no others? — or are we suffering ourselves to be imposed upon by the fear of disturbing a natural but superficial impression?

(iii.) The Epistles which are extant, with the exception of the Epistle to the Romans, are unlike the compositions of one who in his whole life wrote only ten letters. They are too lively and draw too near to the hearts of men. Those especially to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Colossians (compare Philemon) imply habits of familiar intercourse between the Apostle and the distant Churches. Messengers are passing from him to them, and he is minutely informed of their circumstances. There is no trace of ignorance on the Apostle's part of what is going on among them. There is none of that natural formality which grows up in letters between unknown persons. Would the Apostle have written to a Church which he only addressed once in his life in a style which is more like talking than writing? — and without the least allusion anywhere to the singularity of the circumstance of his writing to them?

But if, as the allusions which have been mentioned and the reason of the thing, and the style of the extant Epistles themselves, lead us

to suppose, St. Paul wrote other Epistles, which have not been handed down to us, then many reflections arise in our minds, some of which have an important bearing on the interpretation of Scripture.

1. It has been observed that within a single year of his life the Apostle wrote the Epistle to the Romans and the two Epistles to the Corinthians, which are in quantity equal to more than half the whole of his Epistles, and not much short of a seventh portion of the entire New Testament. Nor is it certain that these were the only Epistles written by him in the same year: the reverse is more likely. Now suppose we take this as the criterion of the probable amount of his lost writings, and that during each year of his ministry, which extended over a period of at least twenty-five years, he wrote an equal quantity, — though it would not be true to say that “the world itself would not contain the books that would have been written,” yet the result would have been a volume three times the size of the New Testament. There is nothing extravagant in this speculation, although there is no proof of it; the allusions to lost Epistles make the idea extremely probable. Nor would any one think it extravagant if the Apostle had not been one of the Canonical writers, whose writings we are accustomed to regard as supernaturally preserved to us.

2. Suppose, further, that in a distant part of the world, in some Syriac, or Armenian, or Æthiopic transcript, or even in its original language, buried in the unexcavated portions of Herculaneum or Pompeii, one of these lost Epistles were suddenly brought to light: with what feelings would it be received by the astonished world! The return of the Apostle himself to earth would hardly be a more surprising event. There are minds to whom such a discovery would seem to involve more danger than the loss of an Epistle which we already have. It is not impossible that it might be suppressed or ever it found its way to the Christian public. Suppose it to escape this fate; it is printed and translated: with what anxiety do men turn over its pages, to find in them something which has a bearing on this or that controverted point! If touching upon disputed

matters, is it too much to conceive that it would not find equal acceptance with disputants on both sides — supposing that it favoured one of them rather than the other? Time would elapse before the new Epistle would find its way into the language of theology. There would be no Fathers or Commentators to overlay it with traditional interpretations. It is strange but also true that it could never receive the deference and respect which has attached to those more legitimate Epistles in the possession of which the Christian Church has gloried for above eighteen centuries. And some one standing aloof might ask whether any article of faith which such an accident might disturb could be necessary to salvation.

3. Another supposition may be raised of the discovery not of one but of many lost Epistles of St. Paul, which suggests a new question. Would the balance of Christian truth be thereby altered? Not so. A moment's reflection will remind us that the servant is not above his Lord, nor the disciple above his Master. If we have failed to gather from the words of Christ the spirit of the Gospel, a new Epistle of St. Paul would hardly enlighten us; if we are partakers of that spirit we have more religious knowledge than it is possible to exhaust on earth. The alarm is no sooner raised than dispelled. The chief use of bringing the supposition before our minds is to remind us of the simplicity of the faith of Christ. It may help to indicate also to the theological student the nature of the problem which he has to consider in the interpretation of Scripture, at once harder and easier than he at first supposed,—easier because simpler, harder because beset with artificial difficulties. Were the Epistles bearing the name of St. Paul not ten but thirty in number, a great change would take place in our mode of studying them. Is it not their shortness which provokes microscopic criticism?—the scantiness of materials giving rise to conjectures, the fragmentary thought itself provoking system? Words and phrases such as “justification by faith without the works of the law” could not have had such a powerful and exclusive influence on the theology of after times had they been found in two only out of thirty Epistles. Theories

and constructions soon come to an end when materials are abundant ; ingenuity ceases to make an attempt to fill up the blanks of knowledge when the mind is distinctly conscious that it is dealing not with the whole but with a part only.

4. No difference is made by the supposition which has been raised respecting the extant Epistles considered as a rule of life and practice. Almost any one of them is a complete witness to the Author and Finisher of our faith ; a complete text-book of the truths of the Gospel. But it is obvious that the supposition, or rather the simple fact, that Epistles have been lost which were written by St. Paul, is inconsistent with the theory of a plan which is sometimes attributed to the extant ones, which are regarded as a temple having many parts, even as there are many members in one body, and all members have not the same office. A mistaken idea of design is one of the most attractive errors in the interpretation of Scripture no less than of nature. No such plan or unity can be really conceived as existing in the Apostle's own mind ; for he could never have distinguished between the Epistles destined to be lost and those which have been allowed to survive. And to attribute such a plan to an overruling Providence would be an arbitrary fancy, involving not inspiration, but the supernatural selection and preservation of particular Epistles, and destructive to all natural ideas of the Gospel. It is a striking illustration of what may be termed the incidental character of Christianity, that (not without a Providence in this as in all other earthly things) some of the Epistles of St. Paul, in the course of nature, as if by chance, are for ever lost to us ; while others, as if by chance, are handed down to be the treasures of the Christian world throughout all ages.

5. There is no reason to suppose that those Epistles of St. Paul which have been preserved were more sacred or inspired than those which were lost, or either more so than his discourses in the synagogue at Thessalonica during "three Sabbath days," at Athens, at Corinth, at Rome, or the other places in which he preached the Gospel. The supposition of the lost Epistles indefinitely extends itself when

we think of lost words. Of these it might be truly said, "that if they were written every one, even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." The writings of the Apostle, like the words of our Saviour, are but a fragment of his life. And they must be restored to their context before they can be truly understood. They do not acquire any real sacredness by isolation from the rest. It would be a loss not a gain to deprive the New Testament of its natural human character,—instead of receiving a higher and diviner meaning, it would only be reduced to a level with the sacred writings of the Asiatic religions. "So Christ and his Apostles went about speaking day after day," is a truer and more instructive thought than "these things were formally set down for our instruction." Nor does it really diminish the power of Scripture to describe it, as it appears to the eye of the critical student, as a collection of fragmentary and occasional pieces. For these fragments are living plants; the germ of eternal life is in them all; the least of all seeds, when compared in bulk with human literature, they have grown up into a tree, the shade of which covers the earth.

ON

PALEY'S HORÆ PAULINÆ.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

NO one can read books on the Evidences of the Christian Religion, written in the last century, without feeling that he has difficulties which are not met by them, and that points of view occur to him, which were not within the scope of vision that presented itself to the writer. This may be partly accounted for, from their being written in the spirit of the advocate rather than of the judge; weak points, as in pleading before a jury, are often concealed; the reader is scarcely expected to go out of his way to consider seriously the other side of the case. Our confidence is further weakened by observing that they are apt to shift with the metaphysical or theological schools of the age, and that some of the evidences which are in repute at home have scarcely any value in other countries. Another cause of this want of satisfaction is the growth of modern criticism, which had hardly in the last generation come into contact with the facts of Scripture, and which, as it has gradually crept over the rest of history, begins to approach more and more nearly the sacred territory.

Modern criticism, in the sense here meant, may be described shortly as the spirit of historical inquiry. This spirit of inquiry has received a great impulse in our own country and in Germany from the researches of Niebahr and Grote, whose method, whatever abatements may be made of some of their statements, will influence all future histories of the ancient world. That is to say, the old traditional history can never return; positive results may often be small and disappointing; the great result is the knowledge that of early times

we are destined to know less, in the absence of contemporary accounts, than we had once hoped and believed, — the little that we do know, perhaps more clearly. This result has been arrived at in three ways : first by showing the inconsistency of testimony ; secondly, by discrediting, chiefly on grounds of internal evidence, the genuineness of documents or authorities ; thirdly, by indicating the manner in which, though false, conceptions of historical fact, and even fictitious writings, may without falsehood have sprung up, in the course of nature, during unknown ages, by the workings or impressions of the mind itself.

As the truths of Christianity have an historical as well as a doctrinal part, they cannot be wholly unaffected by that which affects all other history. They are drawn in by the application of principles which were not intended for them, and which might not have been so generally admitted, had their application been foreseen. Lessons which have been learnt in the study of profane history, are not forgotten in the perusal of the Sacred Volume. Fresh suppositions arise respecting the narrative of Scripture ; discrepancies hitherto unobserved begin to be detected ; what formerly lay flat upon the page is reconstructed with more or less ingenuity or probability into a lively edifice. Some old things are about to disappear, some new ones to appear. The date and authorship of the books of Scripture are made to pass a trying ordeal. It is natural under such circumstances for us to turn to our former defenders of the faith, and inquire how far under their protection we can still find a safe abiding place ; whether the old armour of controversy has been superseded by new modes of warfare.

Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* has been, and always will be, to our own countrymen one of the greatest bulwarks of historical Christianity. Yet its present value must be in a measure determined by the result of the inquiry which has been just now suggested. We turn over the leaves of the work, not without anxiety to know how much must fall before the subtle shafts of German criticism. We want to see how far the author had in view the doubts of our own age as well as of his. If the theory against which Paley is contending had been

one, not of total, but of partial disbelief, would the arguments which he uses have equally held good? — especially if it had been a theory which attacked the genuineness of the books of Scripture themselves, which dismembered them into parts, and which tended to discredit the external evidence by which they were maintained?

“Though some is taken, much remains.” True it is that Paley never contemplated the dismemberment of the Acts of the Apostles into original documents; it is true also, that he did not estimate the comparative value of the coincidences which he found in different instances in the same or different writings. All the Epistles and every part of the Acts were placed by him on the same level of authenticity and genuineness. It is true, further, that the very clearness of his style has given him a fallacious advantage with the reader, and that the extreme improbability of the hypothesis which he is combating, leaves an appearance of triumph that would not be justified by anything short of such an hypothesis. Lastly, it may be granted that the omission of many of the discrepancies in the Epistles, and the absence of effort to regard the subject as a whole, and estimate the collective force of objections, place him in the rank of apologists, and not of impartial writers.

But after making all these deductions, it must be conceded that no author has done as much as Paley in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, to raise up a barrier against unreasoning scepticism, and to place the Epistles on an historical foundation. The ingenuity of his arguments, the minuteness of the intimations discovered by him, the remoteness and complexity of his combinations, leave the impression on the mind, of absolute certainty, in reference to the great Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, and of high probability, in reference to most of the others. And even though some of his defences may be untenable, it is true also, that other lines of argument first indicated by him, admit of being carried farther than he has carried them. Such are those from undesigned coincidences of style and of character, that is from similarities which, with a previous knowledge of the style and character of an author, are capable of being recognised and ap-

preciated; and yet are so latent and complex, that no forger could have invented them.

The two chapters on the Epistle to the Thessalonians contain together nine different heads. Some of them afford the least favourable specimens of Paley's reasoning. All are indebted for a part of their force, to the perspicuity of the writer, which flatters the reader into intelligence, and makes him ready to admit what he can so easily understand. To estimate a criticism on Paley's writings fairly, his arguments and those of his critics should be reduced to their naked form; otherwise the controversy will insensibly degenerate into a comparison of the styles of two writers, not of the value of their arguments.

Bad reasons on behalf of a received opinion or an established authority, have often hitherto found more favour than good ones against it. Many persons like to throw into an argumentative or rhetorical form what on other and perhaps good grounds they have made up their minds to receive. But the time has passed for *ex parte* inquiries and statements, whether about the evidences of Christianity or any other historical subject. It is the interest of every one to see how we really stand. Christians are not partisans of a side who are bound to support what other Christians have said; it is no point of honour with us to defend ground because it has been once taken in. Many of the evidences of Christianity are rather a burden than a strength to it. Let us know the truth, and "the truth will make us free." Without hesitation, therefore, though not without reverence for so great a name, a brief examination will be attempted of that portion of Paley's work which relates to the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

NO. I.

"It is known to every reader of Scripture, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the coming of Christ in terms which indicate an expectation of his speedy appearance:—'For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord that *we* which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which

are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God : and the dead in Christ shall rise first : then *we which are alive and remain*, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds. . . . But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." (iv. 15, 16, 17., v. 4.)

"Whatever other construction these texts may *bear*, the idea they leave upon the mind of an ordinary reader is, that of the author of the Epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it. Now, the use which I make of this circumstance is, to deduce from it a proof that the Epistle itself was not the production of a subsequent age. Would an impostor have given this expectation to St. Paul, after experience had proved it to be erroneous? or would he have put into the Apostle's mouth, or, which is the same thing, into writings purporting to come from his hand, expressions, if not necessarily conveying, at least easily interpreted to convey, an opinion which was then known to be founded in mistake? I state this as an argument to show that the Epistle was cotemporary with St. Paul, which is little less than to show that it actually proceeded from his pen; for I question whether any ancient forgeries were executed in the lifetime of the person whose name they bear, nor was the primitive situation of the Church likely to give birth to such an attempt."

It is argued that no impostor would have put into the mouth of St. Paul, an expectation of the coming of Christ, which experience had shown to be false. Rather say, he would have put into the mouth of St. Paul anything which it came within the reach of his ingenuity to devise, and which was likely to make the Epistle credited as a genuine work of the Apostle. His general aim would be to support his own opinions by the name and authority of St. Paul. Whether a particular statement was likely to have been made by St. Paul, he would only consider in so far as might seem to affect the verisimilitude of his forgery.

Still the argument holds, if stated differently ; for the impostor must have had an object, and that object or part of that object must have been to spread a belief which was shared by himself in the immediate coming of Christ. In other words the Epistle must have been written by a Montanist or Millenarian. But a Montanist or Millenarian, believing in the present outpouring of the Spirit, would not have had recourse to the writings of a century before to prove, what, at the time they were written, he could not suppose to have been true. No one in our own day who maintained the immediate coming of Christ would support his opinion by that of Joseph Mede, who died more than 100 years ago, and fixed the end of the world during his own lifetime. The Montanist, though not rejecting the written word, had in himself a surer witness, and he would have felt the inappropriateness of appealing, on such a subject, from the present to the past. No one who had a sufficient motive to forge, would have cared to attach his forgery to the name of an Apostle.

That no ancient forgeries were executed in the lifetime of the person whose name they bear, is more than can be safely affirmed. That forgeries came into existence soon after the death of the person whose name they bear, is certainly proved by the example of the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Homilies, and some of the Apocryphal Gospels. Neither an interval of a hundred years, nor a distance of a hundred miles requires to be interposed. It is certainly true, that the primitive situation of the Church in the year 50, so far as we are acquainted with it, was unlikely to give birth to such an attempt ; that the same improbability would have existed in the year 100, is more than we can maintain.

No. II.

“ OUR Epistle concludes with a direction, that it should be publicly read in the Church to which it was addressed : — ‘I charge you by the Lord, that this Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.’ The existence of this clause in the body of the Epistle is an evidence

its authenticity ; because to produce a letter purporting to have been publicly read in the Church of Thessalonica, when no such letter in truth had been read or heard of in that Church, would be to produce an imposture destructive of itself. At least, it seems unlikely that the author of an imposture would voluntarily, and even officiously, afford a handle to so plain an objection. Either the Epistle was publicly read in the Church of Thessalonica during St. Paul's lifetime, or it was not. If it was, no publication could be more authentic, no species of notoriety more unquestionable, no method of preserving the integrity of the copy more secure. If it was not, the clause we produce would remain a standing condemnation of the forgery, and one would suppose, an invincible impediment to its success.

“If we connect this article with the preceding, we shall perceive that they combine into one strong proof of the genuineness of the Epistle. The preceding article carries up the date of the Epistle to the time of St. Paul ; the present article fixed the publication of it to the Church of Thessalonica. Either, therefore, the Church of Thessalonica was imposed upon by a false Epistle, which in St. Paul's lifetime they received and read publicly as his, carrying on a communication with him all the while, and the Epistle referring to the continuance of that communication ; or other Christian Churches, in the same lifetime of the Apostle, received an Epistle purporting to have been publicly read in the Church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that Church ; or lastly, the conclusion remains, that the Epistle now in our hands is genuine.”

Nothing can be apparently more conclusive than this statement, though really fallacious. The root of the fallacy seems to lie in the supposition that the moment the forged writing appeared, it would be subject to critical investigation, and that the first place it would be brought to would be the Church of Thessalonica itself. Whereas, the whole history of forgeries shows that they wandered about the

world, coming and going nobody knew whence or whither, and that the concealment of their origin was not an impediment to their success. The Epistle to the Thessalonians, we will suppose, suddenly made its appearance at Rome or Alexandria, in the year 120. It fell, as its author intended, into the hands of those who were pre-disposed to its doctrine and gladly caught at its authority. Would any one think of writing to the Church of Thessalonica to ask whether the Epistle had been read there during St. Paul's lifetime? And if we could suppose such an inquiry to be made after an interval of fifty years or more, who could say whether it had or had not been once read, in accordance with the Apostle's direction? A parallel case will throw light on the question which we are considering. Suppose a lost book of statutes to reappear suddenly, would it be thought to militate against its genuineness that a provision was found in it that the whole book should be read once a year? And suppose, further, this book to be a forgery, would the occurrence of such a provision tend to create the slightest suspicion respecting it? Would it have been any reason for doubting the genuineness of the Book of the Law, in Josiah's time, that it contained a command that it should be read by the king?

It is highly improbable, as Paley remarks, that the Church of Thessalonica could have been imposed upon by a false Epistle in St. Paul's lifetime; but there is no improbability in the circumstance that other Churches and individuals may have read, not perhaps during the lifetime of the Apostle, but soon after, an Epistle purporting to be addressed to the Church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that Church, and that such Epistle may have been gradually received as genuine; and therefore it is by other arguments than these that the conclusion must be proved, that the Epistle now in our hands is a writing of St. Paul.

No. III.

"BETWEEN our Epistle and the history the accordancy in many points is circumstantial and complete. The history relates, that

after Paul and Silas had been beaten with many stripes at Philippi, shut up in the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks, as soon as they were discharged from their confinement, they departed from thence, and, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, where Paul opened and alleged that Jesus was the Christ, Acts, xvi. 23—xvii. 1—3. The Epistle written in the name of Paul and Silvanus (Silas), and of Timotheus, who also appears to have been along with them at Philippi (*vide* Phil. No. IV.) speaks to the Church of Thessalonica thus: ‘Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God with much contention.’ ii. 2.

“The history relates, that after they had been some time at Thessalonica, ‘The Jews which believed not . . . set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason (where Paul and Silas were), and sought to bring them out to the people.’ Acts, xvii. 5. The Epistle declares, ‘When we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even *as it came to pass, and ye know.*’ iii. 4.

“The history brings Paul and Silas and Timothy together at Corinth, soon after the preaching of the Gospel at Thessalonica: ‘And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia (to Corinth), Paul was pressed in spirit.’ Acts, xviii. 5. The Epistle is written in the name of these three persons, who consequently must have been together at that time, and speaks throughout of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction: ‘We brethren *being taken from you for a short time* in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire.’ ii. 17.

“The harmony is indubitable; but the points of history in which it consists, are so expressly set forth in the narrative, and so directly referred to in the Epistle, that it becomes necessary for us to show, that the facts in one writing were not copied from the other. Now, amidst some minuter discrepancies, which will be noticed below, there is one circumstance which mixes itself with all the allusions in

the Epistle, but does not appear in the history anywhere ; and that is of a visit which St. Paul had intended to pay to the Thessalonians during the time of his residing at Corinth : ‘ Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again ; but Satan hindered us.’ ii. 18. ‘ Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith. Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you.’ iii. 10, 11. Concerning a design which was not executed, although the person himself, who was conscious of his own purpose, should make mention in his letters, nothing is more probable than that his historian should be silent, if not ignorant. The author of the Epistle could not, however, have learnt this circumstance from the history, for it is not there to be met with ; nor if the historian had drawn his materials from the Epistle, is it likely that he would have passed over a circumstance, which is amongst the most obvious and prominent of the facts to be collected from that source of information.”

The harmony is indubitable ; nor is there any reason for supposing that the writer of the Acts has taken his materials from the Epistle, or the writer of the Epistle from the Acts. And minute agreement in two documents or narratives which have no verbal resemblances, and in which nothing can be proved anywhere to be copied in one from the other (that is, in this instance, in any part of the Acts from any of the Epistles), is an almost certain proof of their truth and accuracy in passages where they agree. But the omission by the author or editor of the Acts, not of a fact, but of an intention which is alluded to in the Epistle, cannot be considered as any additional proof of that which hardly needs to be proved at all. It does not follow, as Paley maintains, that if the historian had “ drawn his materials from the Epistle ” he would have mentioned the circumstance, because the intention is spoken of as never taking effect in the Epistle itself. Suppose that, in the biography of a traveller, or rather, to put a case more exactly parallel, in a few pages of scattered memorials of travel,

no mention occurred of a design which was never carried out, and yet which the letters of the traveller at one period of his life show him to have entertained and also to have abandoned, that would not tend to prove the authenticity of either, or to guarantee their independence of each other. It would require many such omissions before any inference could be drawn from them. As well might we say that the omission of some untrue statement which may be found in a contemporary authority would prove the trustworthiness of a history.

No. IV.

“‘WHEREFORE, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good *to be left at Athens alone*; and sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith: . . . but now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, . . . we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith.’
iii. 1—7.

“The history relates, that when Paul came out of Macedonia to Athens, Silas and Timothy stayed behind at Berea:—‘The brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea; but Silas and Timotheus abode there still. And they that conducted Paul brought him to Athens.’ Acts, xvii. 14, 15. The history farther relates, that after Paul had tarried some time at Athens, and had proceeded from thence to Corinth, whilst he was exercising his ministry in that city Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia. Acts, xviii. 5. But to reconcile the history with the clause in the Epistle which makes St. Paul say—‘We thought it good to be left at Athens alone; and sent Timotheus unto you,’ it is necessary to suppose that Timothy had come up with St. Paul at Athens; a circumstance which the history does not mention. I remark, therefore, that although the history does not expressly notice this arrival, yet it contains intimations which render it extremely probable that the fact took place:—First, as soon as Paul had reached Athens, he sent a message back

to Silas and Timothy, 'for to come to him with all speed.' Acts, xvii. 15. Secondly, his stay at Athens was on purpose that they might join him there: 'Now while Paul *waited for them at Athens* his spirit was stirred in him.' Acts, xvii. 16. Thirdly, his departure from Athens does not appear to have been in any sort hastened, or abrupt. It is said, 'after these things,' viz. his disputation with the Jews, his conferences with the philosophers, his discourse at Areopagus, and the gaining of some converts, he 'departed from Athens, and came to Corinth.' Acts, xviii. 1. It is not hinted that he quitted Athens before the time that he had intended to leave it; it is not suggested that he was driven from thence, as he was from many cities, by tumults or persecutions, or because his life was no longer safe. Observe then the particulars which the history *does* notice; that Paul had ordered Timothy to follow him without delay, that he waited at Athens on purpose that Timothy might come up with him, that he stayed there as long as his own choice led him to continue. Laying these circumstances, which the history does disclose, together, it is highly probably that Timothy came to the Apostle at Athens; a fact which the Epistle, we have seen, virtually asserts, when it makes Paul send Timothy back from Athens to Thessalonica. The *sending back of Timothy into Macedonia* accounts also for his not coming to Corinth till after Paul had been fixed in that city for some considerable time. Paul had found out Aquila and Priscilla, abode with them and wrought, being of the same craft; and reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath day, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. Acts, xviii. 1—5. All this passed at Corinth before Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia. Acts, xviii. 5. If this was the first time of their coming up with him after their separation at Berea, there is nothing to account for a delay so contrary to what appears from the history itself to have been St. Paul's plan and expectation. This is a conformity of a peculiar species. The Epistle discloses a fact which is not preserved in the history; but which makes what is said in the history more significant, pre-

bable, and consistent. The history bears marks of an omission; the Epistle by reference furnishes a circumstance which supplies that omission."

Here the discrepancy turns on the circumstance that, according to the Epistle, Timothy joined the Apostle at Athens; but according to the narrative of the Acts, at Corinth. The undesigned coincidence is supposed to consist in the omission, in the Acts, of the return of Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica, which is thought to be intimated, however, in the command of Paul, that "they (*i. e.* Silas and Timotheus) should come speedily to him," or, according to the true reading, "as speedily as possible" — a command which, unless we assume such a journey, must have been neglected.

Paley has here lost sight of the natural view of the narrative of the Acts. For no one would have found there the shadow of inconsistency, but for the discrepancy with the Thessalonians. Let us see how the case stands: — Paul waited for Timothy and Silas at Athens, not because he expected that they would come up with him there, but because he expected them somewhere. The length of his stay, either at Athens or Corinth, before he was overtaken by Silas and Timotheus, cannot really be inferred from the narrative. And even granting that the narrative does tacitly imply an interval of a few weeks in which St. Paul was alone, sufficient time must also be allowed for the messengers of Paul to go from Athens to Berea, and for Timothy to return from Berea to Athens. Acts, xvii. 15. And, lastly, suppose that for some reason unknown, Timothy and Silas were delayed, does it follow that, unless the delay were considerable, the author of the Acts would necessarily have mentioned so minute a circumstance?

But for the sake of argument, let us assume the inconsistency to exist, which Paley imagines that he has discovered in the Acts, and what must be the inference? It must be admitted, that the writer of the Acts either knew, or did not know, that the return of Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica actually took place. If (1.) he did know, it would be unnatural for him to have expressed himself

as he has done respecting the circumstance of Timothy and Silas coming up with the Apostle at Corinth. Two statements refer to each other: first, the command to follow quickly; secondly, the fact that at a certain point of his journey the Apostle is overtaken by his friends. But the situation, as it existed in the author's mind, was very different from this. Timothy and Silas first rejoined the Apostle, not at Corinth, the point mentioned, but at Athens, whence they returned to Thessalonica, and finally reached Corinth. Would any one who knew this have omitted it, when the omission must necessarily lead to a false impression? Paley should have considered, not only what was necessary to make the narrative intelligible or probable, but what was necessary to make the writer or editor of the Acts consistent with himself. (2.) But again, if he did not know, the intimations themselves vanish. For in using these words, "Whilst Paul waited for them at Athens," "he sent a message back to Silas and Timothy to come to him with all speed," — he must be supposed, on Paley's view of the subject, to be saying something, the bearing of which he did not perceive; to have spoken, not of himself, but on the authority of some other writing or narrative which he misunderstood or misquoted. But it is not likely that, with a narrative before him which mentioned the fact of Timothy's return from Athens, the compiler should have retained these intimations, and have omitted the very circumstance which was necessary to make them consistent with the rest of his history.

Our inference, therefore, must be that the method of meeting the supposed inconsistency proposed by Paley, while it assumes the inconsistency for the sake of meeting it, leads into a further anomaly.

Once more, Paley does not observe that, even admitting his hypothesis, a discrepancy still remains; because in the Epistle which is addressed from "Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus," only Timothy is spoken of as sent from Athens; whereas, to reconcile the Epistle with the Acts, Silas as well as Timothy must have undertaken the double journey.

The possible hypotheses respecting this subject are the following : —

1. Timothy and Silas, having been left behind at Berea (according to the Acts), join the Apostle at Athens (not according to the Acts).

2. Silas, who alone is mentioned in the Acts as having *preached* at Thessalonica and Berea, is left behind at Berea, and Timothy follows the Apostle to Athens, whence he is sent back by him to Thessalonica. We may further suppose Timothy and Silas returning together from Thessalonica to Corinth, and then overtaking the Apostle. This mode of explaining the two accounts reduces the discrepancy to a minimum. The writer of the Acts knew that Silas and Timotheus were together at Thessalonica and Berea, and were together when they overtook the Apostle at Corinth; what he did not know, was only that they were separated during the interval.

3. Another mode of escape is, to avail ourselves of the usual resource of harmonists, and repeat the event. The Epistle must then have a later date assigned to it. But a date much later than the Apostle's visit to Thessalonica is inconsistent with the contents of the Epistle itself.

The comparison of the Acts and the Epistle suggests a further objection. For Timothy is stated in the Epistle to have been sent back from Athens, at which place the Apostle had determined to be left alone. 1 Thess. iii. 1. 5. But at a later period the Apostle is not at Athens, but at Corinth and Ephesus, as we learn from the eighteenth chapter of the Acts.

4. Or possibly by the words "we thought it good to be left at Athens alone; and sent Timotheus," in the Epistle (iii. 1, 2.), may be meant only, sent Timotheus from Berea; a sense just admissible in the words, but hardly consistent with the context.

Whichever way of diminishing the difficulty be adopted, it still remains slight, but unexplainable, and cannot be by any ingenuity converted into an undesigned coincidence. Any mode of explanation

which, like Paley's, does away the natural meaning of the author of the Acts, or like No. 4. of the Epistle, — which dives beneath the surface to pick up what is really on the surface,—is in its tendency far more dangerous than the simple admission of the existence of a discrepancy, because it introduces into Scripture a hypocritical and unreal method of interpretation, which may be anywhere made the instrument of perverting the meaning of the text.

No. V.

“‘For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things *of your own countrymen*, even as they have of the Jews.’
ii. 14.

“To a reader of the Acts of the Apostles it might seem, at first sight, that the persecutions which the preachers and converts of Christianity underwent, were suffered at the hands of their old adversaries the Jews. But if we attend carefully to the accounts there delivered, we shall observe that, though the opposition made to the Gospel usually *originated* from the enmity of the Jews, yet in almost all places the Jews went about to accomplish their purpose, by stirring up the Gentile inhabitants against their converted countrymen. Out of Judea they had not power to do much mischief in any other way. This was the case at Thessalonica in particular: ‘The Jews which believed not, moved with envy, set all the city in an uproar.’ Acts, xvii. 5. It was the same a short time afterwards at Berea: ‘When the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people.’ Acts, xvii. 13. And before this, our Apostle had met with a like species of persecution, in his progress through the Lesser Asia: in every city ‘The unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren.’ Acts, xiv. 2. The Epistle therefore represents the case accurately as the history states it. It was the Jews always who set on foot the persecutions against the Apostles and their followers.

He speaks truly therefore of them, when he says, in this Epistle, they ‘both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have *persecuted us*; . . . forbidding us to speak unto the Gentiles.’ ii. 15, 16. But out of Judea it was at the hands of the Gentiles, it was ‘of their own countrymen,’ that the injuries they underwent were immediately sustained: ‘Ye have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews.’”

This is not a fair representation of the circumstances referred to. The fact is that there is a difficulty which arises from the discrepancy of the Acts and the Epistle; the first impression of the Acts being that the converts of Thessalonica were Jews persecuted by Jews, or at any rate that the element of Jews and Jewish proselytes was a principal one in the Church, and the Jews actively engaged in the persecution, or rather the main authors of it; while the only construction that can be put upon the Epistle is, that they were Greeks persecuted by Greeks (1 Thess. ii. 14.), as the Jews of Palestine, with whom they are compared, had been persecuted by Jews. This discrepancy might find a reconciliation, were we more fully acquainted with the circumstances of the case, but cannot be regarded as an undesigned coincidence. Compare *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. v. No. V.

No. VI.

“THE apparent discrepancies between our Epistle and the history, though of magnitude sufficient to repel the imputation of confederacy or transcription (in which view they form a part of our argument), are neither numerous, nor very difficult to reconcile.

“One of these may be observed in the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter: — ‘For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and unblameably we

behaved ourselves among you that believe.' A person who reads this passage is naturally led by it to suppose that the writer had dwelt at Thessalonica for some considerable time; yet of St. Paul's ministry in that city, the history gives no other account than the following:—That 'they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews;' that, 'as his manner was, he went in unto them, and *three sabbath days* reasoned with them out of the Scriptures;' . . . that 'some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas.' The history then proceeds to tell us, that 'the Jews which believed not . . . set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason,' where Paul and his companions lodged; that the consequence of this outrage was, that 'the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea.' Acts, xvii. 1—10. From the mention of his preaching three sabbath days in the Jewish synagogue, and from the want of any farther specification of his ministry, it has usually been taken for granted that Paul did not continue at Thessalonica more than three weeks. This, however, is inferred without necessity. It appears to have been St. Paul's practice, in almost every place that he came to, upon his first arrival to repair to the synagogue. He thought himself bound to propose the Gospel to the Jews *first*, agreeably to what he declared at Antioch in Pisidia; 'it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you.' Acts, xiii. 46. If the Jews rejected his ministry, he quitted the synagogue, and betook himself to a Gentile audience. At Corinth, upon his first coming thither, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath; 'and when the Jews opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he departed thence,' expressly telling them, 'from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles. . . . And he continued there a year and six months.' Acts, xviii. 6—11. At Ephesus, in like manner, for the space of three months he went into the synagogue; but when divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of that way, he departed from them and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus; and this continued by the space of two years. Acts, xix. 8, 9, 10. Upon inspecting the history, I see nothing in it which negatives the sup-

position that St. Paul pursued the same plan at Thessalonica which he adopted in other places; and that, though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city, and in the exercise of his ministry amongst the Gentile citizens, much longer, and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.

“Another seeming discrepancy is found in the ninth verse of the first chapter of the Epistle:—‘For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how *ye turned to God from idols*, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.’ This text contains an assertion that, by means of St. Paul’s ministry at Thessalonica, many idolatrous Gentiles had been brought over to Christianity. Yet the history, in describing the effects of that ministry, only says, that ‘some of the Jews believed, . . . and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.’ Acts, xvii. 4. The devout Greeks were those who already worshipped the one true God; and therefore could not be said, by embracing Christianity ‘to be turned to God from idols.’

“This is the difficulty. The answer may be assisted by the following observations. The Alexandrian and Cambridge manuscripts read (for τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος) τῶν τε σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος. In which reading they are also confirmed by the Vulgate Latin. And this reading is in my opinion strongly supported by the considerations:—First, that οἱ σεβόμενοι alone, *i. e.* without Ἕλληνες, is used in this sense in this same chapter, Paul being come to Athens, ἐπελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις. Secondly, that σεβόμενοι and Ἕλληνες nowhere come together. The expression is redundant. The οἱ σεβόμενοι must be Ἕλληνες. Thirdly, that the καὶ is much more likely to have been left out, *incuriâ manûs*, than to have been put in.

“Or, after all, if we be not allowed to change the present reading,

which is undoubtedly retained by a great plurality of copies, may not the passage in the history be considered as describing only the effects of St. Paul's discourses during the three sabbath days in which he preached in the synagogue? and may it not be true, as we have remarked above, that his application to the Gentiles at large, and his success amongst them, was posterior to this?"

The Epistle says, that the Apostle laboured with his own hands (ii. 9, 10.), implying, therefore, that he remained at Thessalonica for some time. But the Acts state that he preached there three sabbath days. Paley argues, "but he may have stayed longer, because he did so in other places." But this is not the spirit of the narrative; nothing can be inferred from what he did at other places where he was not driven out by persecution, as to what he did at this where he was. It might be argued, however, in favour of the genuineness of the Epistle, that its account is indirectly confirmed by the Philippians, in which it is stated, that in Thessalonica they sent once and again to the Apostle's necessity.

The fallacy of Paley's argument lies in the rejection of the *primâ facie* meaning of the Acts. St. Paul may have stayed longer, and may have converted Gentiles; but would the author of the Acts have expressed himself as he has done, had he been aware of this protracted stay? That is the point which is not in any degree met by accumulating instances that may tend to prove his practice in other places. Paley's mode of dealing with these passages is as if in ordinary conversation we took the words of a truth-speaking person, and made them mean anything they could mean without involving the speaker in positive falsehood, giving, moreover, as the reason for our tortuous interpretation of them that he had so expressed himself at other times. A better answer would be: (1.) That the Apostle, even though he remained in a place but for three weeks, began by giving a specimen of his way of life. (2.) That it by no means follows that he intended to remain but for three weeks,

as the duration of his stay was cut short by the stirring up of persecution.

The second discrepancy Paley seeks to avoid by adopting the reading τῶν τε σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων. Granting him this, it will still not enable us to account for the exclusively Gentile character of the Church in the Epistle.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

“It may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing, from that which is usually considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present Epistle, however, furnishes a passage, hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can only be accounted for upon the supposition of the Epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for with great ease. The passage which I allude to is found in the second chapter of the Second Epistle (ver. 3—8.):—‘That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU, I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? *And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.* For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: *only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.* And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.’ It were superfluous to prove, because it is in vain to deny, that this passage is involved in great obscurity, more especially the clauses distinguished by Italics. Now, the observation I have to offer, is founded upon this, that the passage expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon the same subject;—‘Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, *I told you these things? And*

now ye know what withholdeth.' If such conversation actually passed; if whilst he was yet with them, he *told* them, 'these things,' then it follows that the Epistle is authentic. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what is said in the Epistle might be understood by those who had been present at such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen, that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be perfectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained without knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons."

Paley characteristically says, that "no man writes unintelligibly on purpose," and therefore there must have been some real conversation, which is here referred to. But is not this a fallacy? He appears in this article to confuse the forger and the real author. That the real author could not have written unintelligibly on purpose is true; but it by no means follows that the forger would not have taken any mode which his ingenuity suggested of making his work appear to be a genuine writing. (See No. I.) He might have referred to pretended conversations, letters, circumstances, with this object. He might have written whatever St. Paul could have written; the only limit to this being whether the verisimilitude was of a kind which was likely to occur to him. The question which he would ask himself would be, not whether what he wrote was unin-

telligible, but whether any suspicion would be aroused by its unintelligibility. It may easily happen, as Paley observes, that part of a letter may be unintelligible from want of information respecting allusions contained in it. But this is no confirmation of its truth. A. B. forges letters tending to prove he is the heir to an estate; in these letters he alludes to matters which from his statement of them can only be half understood. This may be some proof of the ingenuity of the forger; it is no proof of the genuineness of the letters.

NO. II.

“‘NEITHER did we eat any man’s bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us.’ iii. 8, 9.

“In a letter, purporting to have been written to another of the Macedonic Churches, we find the following declaration:—

“‘Now ye Philippians know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, *no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.*’ iv. 15.

“The conformity between these two passages is strong and plain. They confine the transaction to the same period. The Epistle to the Philippians refers to what passed ‘in the beginning of the Gospel,’ that is to say, during the first preaching of the gospel on that side of the Ægean Sea. The Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the Apostle’s conduct in that city upon ‘his first entrance in unto them,’ which the history informs us was in the course of his first visit to the peninsula of Greece.

“As St. Paul tells the Philippians, that no church communicated with him as concerning giving and receiving, but they only, he could not, consistently with the truth of this declaration, have received anything from the neighbouring Church of Thessalonica. What thus appears by general implication in an Epistle to another Church, when he writes to the Thessalonians themselves, is noticed expressly and particularly: ‘Neither did we eat any man’s bread for

nought; but wrought night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.'

"The texts here cited farther also exhibit a mark of conformity with what St. Paul is made to say of himself in the Acts of the Apostles. The Apostle not only reminds the Thessalonians that he had not been chargeable to any of them, but he states likewise the motive which dictated this reserve: — 'Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us,' iii. 9. This conduct, and what is much more precise, the end which he had in view by it, was the very same as that which the history attributes to St. Paul in a discourse, which it represents him to have addressed to the elders of the church of Ephesus: — 'Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have *showed* you all things, how *that so labouring ye ought to support the weak.*' Acts, xx. 34, 35. The sentiment in the Epistle and in the speech is in both parts of it so much alike, and yet the words which convey it show so little of imitation or even of resemblance, that the agreement cannot well be explained without supposing the speech and the letter to have really proceeded from the same person."

Paley should not have omitted the verse following (Phil. iv. 16.), which implies that St. Paul received support from the Philippians while at Thessalonica, and is therefore partly inconsistent with his working with his own hands. "For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessities."

[No. III. is not reprinted, as the subject of it has been already anticipated in the notes on the passage referred to.]

The defects of Paley's article on the Thessalonians may be summed up as follows: — He has no distinctive conception of the nature

or origin of early forgeries. He tends to confuse the person of the forger with the real author, and argues erroneously from one to the other. He omits discrepancies. He alters the natural and *primâ facie* meaning of the Acts and the Epistles. He bends their exact words into agreement with general probabilities. He finds a difficulty where there is none, for the sake of introducing an undesigned coincidence. He has worked out in separate details a subject which can only be regarded philosophically as a whole, in which presumptions have to be considered, not singly, but collectively and with reference to the entire circumstances of the early Church.

Paley, like most writers of his age, had no idea of the differences of times and countries. He had never formed a conception of the mind of the Apostolical age. He is justly chargeable with the error of regarding the writers of the New Testament as men who "sat down at a desk" to compose a book. He never asked himself the previous question; what existed before the Acts? out of what documents or memorials were they compiled? He begins with the assumption of their integrity, not merely as a whole which was put together by a single editor, but as a whole which had no previous existence in any of its parts. Given his two witnesses, he then proceeds to prove the independence of their testimony. But he forgets that where the history is fragmentary and the letters short, minute points of agreement will be very rare. If they are numerous he may reasonably suspect them. The doctrine of chances shows that he must have made, not found them. They are not really there, but he has acquired the power of seeing them where they do not exist. Led away by his own ingenious thought of "undesigned coincidences," he has impressed the notion of them on his own mind and that of the reader as a sort of form, by the help of which the Acts and the Epistles are to be read. His wonderful power of writing enables him to surround with a flood of light appearances which are often deceptive.

Those who may at any time design to continue his work further should consider whether a valuable argument has not been already

weakened by being carried beyond its just limits. Constructive evidences of Christianity, wiredrawn out of small materials, share the fate of constructive history. The real evidence of the genuineness of the Epistle to the Thessalonians is scarcely added to by the argument from undesigned coincidences, and not at all weakened by its omission. Far stronger and deeper is that evidence which is derived from the style and character of the Epistle, which in almost every verse recalls the manner of the Apostle St. Paul, and which in spite of minor discrepancies finds a general support and broad foundation in the agreement of the Epistle with the main features of the narrative of the Acts.

THE EPISTLE
TO
THE GALATIANS.

THE
EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

Two questions, closely connected with each other, arise in the minds of every reader of the Epistles of St. Paul who is desirous of forming an idea of the state of the Churches to which they were addressed: first, whether the Church was founded by the Apostle himself; secondly, whether it was composed of Jewish or of Gentile Christians. For the answer to these questions, in the case of the Galatians, our chief attention must be directed to the intimations of the Epistle itself; to which a gleam of uncertain information may be added from other writings of the Apostle, and the analogy of other Churches mentioned in them. The Acts of the Apostles supply one or two facts of doubtful import. The latter of the two questions unavoidably runs up into a more general inquiry respecting the original relations of Jew and Gentile before they came together in the Christian Church, which will be more fully discussed in another place.

The indications of the Epistle may be summed up in a few words. On the one hand, the tone of authority which the Apostle adopts, as well as particular expressions, such as iii. 2. "This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"; or iv. 9—19. in which the Apostle speaks of their having been converted, not to bondage, but to freedom, and of

himself as again becoming their spiritual father (comp. 1 Cor. iv. 15.; also Acts xvi. 6.); as well as the manner in which he mentions the Apostles at Jerusalem in chap. ii. would certainly lead us to suppose that the Galatians must have been converted by himself or by his followers. And that they were originally Gentiles, is implied in chap. iv. ver. 8.:—"When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods." But if they were converts of the Apostle, and also Gentiles, how are we to account for their ready reception of Judaism, to the repulsive rites of which they seem to have been drawn almost by instinct? That would lead rather to the opposite supposition, that they were not Gentiles, but Jews. Naturally, it might be urged, when the Apostle's personal influence was withdrawn from them, Judaism overlaid Christianity, the law prevailed over the Gospel. And this latter opinion is confirmed by the fact, that the Apostle argues with them out of the law and the prophets, and that in none of his Epistles has the cast of the reasoning a more Jewish character.

Thus on a first view we seem to arrive at opposite conclusions, an appearance of inconsistency which will present itself again to our notice in the Epistle to the Romans. One set of presumptions leads to the inference, that the Galatians were Gentiles; or rather the text quoted above (iv. 8.) expressly says so. Another set of presumptions (from which we cannot exclude the almost equally explicit statement that they were Jews, chap. iv. 9., and desirous to return to "the beggarly elements" around which their hearts still lingered) leads to the opposite inference. Out of this dilemma how are we to make our escape? (1.) Can we suppose St. Paul himself to have been a teacher of the law (compare Introductory Essays on the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Romans), and to have once taught what he now denounced? Admitting that at no period of his life he wholly ceased to be a Jew (Acts xviii. 18., xxi. 26., xxiii. 6.); that there were threads in his doctrine, which entangled him with the false teachers (Gal. v. 11.); that there was a time in which he spoke of himself as "having known Christ according to the flesh,"

and that constant reference to the authority of the Old Testament is difficult to reconcile with his renunciation of the law; still the extreme antagonism in which he places himself to the Judaisers renders it impossible that he could ever have been one of them. The Galatians "had begun in the Spirit;" it is another Gospel to which they are "removed;" they had originally received with enthusiasm the same lesson which St. Paul is seeking to revive. (2.) But if we cannot suppose St. Paul himself to have been a teacher of the law, whence did the infection of Judaism arise in the Churches of Galatia? It might be suggested that the Galatians were first converted by teachers of the circumcision, and afterwards reconverted by St. Paul. Yet, in Gal. iii. 2., iv. 19., the Apostle implies that they were converted by himself, and, as he expresses it in the passage just quoted, "began in the spirit." Or, (3.) shall we conceive him to be describing, first, the Gentiles, then the Jews in successive verses? Granting that the Galatian Church, like most other Christian communities, may have contained Jewish as well as Gentile Christians, still the context shows that those who "served them which by nature are no gods," and those who were ready to relapse into the weak and beggarly elements of the law, were the same persons, iv. 8—10. Nor is there any trace in the Epistle that he distinguished the case of the Jew from that of the Gentile in reference to the obligation of circumcision; to all he says alike, "if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing." Would this have been his language had the Church been divided between Jews and Gentiles? Yet, (4.) once more it might be argued, that Judaism and heathenism were regarded by St. Paul as a single prior dispensation, the two parts of which he is not careful to distinguish, which he seems alike to include elsewhere in the expression "elements of the world," Col. ii. 8. 20. But no such common point of view under which he may have regarded the former estate of Jew and Gentile, would have justified him in saying of the Jew:—"Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods."

The most probable mode of escaping these difficulties is the following : — The Galatians we may suppose to have been a Gentile Church, which was first converted to Christianity by St. Paul, but previous to its conversion had gone through a phase of Judaism. There were three states out of which Gentile converts passed, or might have passed, into the acceptance of the Gospel as preached by St. Paul : — first, heathenism ; secondly, a more or less strict proselytism ; thirdly, Jewish Christianity. The second of these was probably the state of the Galatian converts. Strange as it may seem, it is an undoubted fact that, before the appearance of Christianity the religion of the Jews exercised a great and mysterious influence over the Roman world. It had already bridged the chasm which separated the faith of Jehovah from the wisdom of the Greek philosopher. It was “a schoolmaster,” bringing men to Christ, not in idea only but in fact. The natural and political force of Judaism, even in its most abject state, its simple faith in the unity of God, the proselytising spirit of the Jews themselves (Matt. xxiii. 15.), their dispersion throughout the world, the diffusion of the Greek translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, the absorbing power of the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy, are sufficient to account for the hold which it acquired on the minds of men, standing, as it seemed, erect in the decline of the classical religions and the chaos of Eastern superstitions. The Roman poets in the age of Augustus were perfectly well acquainted with the belief and practices of the Jews, which extended to others as well as to their regular proselytes ; a knowledge which is the more remarkable, when contrasted with the slender information about the Christians, which is displayed by every heathen writer, for the first century and a half after the Christian era.*

Admitting the general fact of the diffusion of Judaism, no people were more likely to have fallen under its power than the inhabitants of Galatia. A half civilised race of Western origin, in an Eastern

* See Introduction to Epistle to the Romans.

land, were peculiarly liable to be influenced by the contagion of the Jewish settlers who dwelt among them (1 Peter, i. 1.). Their national religion was already mingled with the gods of the nations among whom they settled. They did not altogether cease to be heathen by becoming Jews, any more than they wholly left their ancient Gallic rites for Greek and Phrygian customs. Nor can we tell how many elements of Christianity, as, for example, the doctrine of a Messiah, may have been included in their Judaising tenets (compare Heb. vi. 1., 2 Cor. ii. 5. 16., John iv. 25.). Marked as such distinctions appear in language, there could not have always been a definite line which separated heathenism from proselytism or proselytism from Jewish Christianity, any more than the Gospel of the circumcision from that of the uncircumcision. The more lax of either class must have insensibly faded into the other; and Judaism itself may have taken new forms when coming into contact with semi-barbarous races. Much that we look upon as a corruption of Christianity was, in fact, prior to Christianity, inherent in the magical or philosophical tendencies of the age, and clustering around the name of Christ as a new source of life and power. There was a spiritualised Judaism, as well as a Judaised heathenism. In the case of the Galatians, we can only infer from the language of the Epistle that they could not have been so completely Christians as to set aside St. Paul's claim to have converted them; nor so completely Jews as to have lost all remembrance of that former state in which they did service "to them that are no gods."

Supposing then the Galatians to have passed through the gate of Judaism to Christianity, there is no difficulty in explaining their relapse into Judaism. The Jewish teachers were there before St. Paul, and they remained there after his departure: and the language of the Old Testament itself, sanctioned by the authority of St. Paul, though read in a spirit unlike his, would seem to tell of the continued obligation of the law and of the necessity of circumcision. He himself, they insidiously said, had at one time preached that very circumcision which he now denounced. (v. 11.) By such

arguments a half-wavering multitude, who had been once ready to die for the Apostle, now that he was absent, were shaken in their allegiance to his authority.

The slenderness of our materials will not allow us to complete the picture of the Galatian Church. There is not a single figure to fill up the vacant space. It is only a probability that, in ch. v. 10., the Apostle is alluding to an individual opponent. ("He that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be.") We see the levity and inconsistency of the converts; their confusion of the Gospel with the Law; the manner in which dislike of the doctrine of the Apostle degenerated into hatred of his person. Fainter traces are also discernible of Judaism mingling with heathenism in ch. iv. 9., as in Col. ii. 18.; and perhaps in Rom. xiv.

GALATIA.

A NOTICE of the inhabitants of Galatia will throw a remote light on the Epistle to the Galatians. Some have thought to identify them with the barbarous people of Lycaonia who first worshipped the Apostles and afterwards stoned them. But whatever similarity may be traced in the character of the people, Derbe and Lystra were not within the district termed Galatia (comp. Acts xiv. 1. 6.), which lay to the north, separated by Paphlagonia and Bithynia from the Euxine Sea. It was bounded on the south by Phrygia and Cappadocia, on the east by Pontus and Cappadocia, on the west by Phrygia and Bithynia, and included in its domain several of the Phrygian cities most celebrated for the worship of the mother of the gods.

The inhabitants of this district were the Gauls of Asia. They were the remnant of the great Celtic and Germanic migrations, which overspread Greece and Asia Minor at the commencement of the third century before the Christian era. Like the Biscayans or Hungarians in Europe, they continued the isolated monument of the deluge which had passed away. At one time they had been the terror of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and alternately the adversaries or the mercenaries of Alexander's successors. They were reduced by the Roman Consul, C. Manlius Vulso, in the year 189, but retained their separate kings by favour of the Romans, until about 80 years before this time, A. C. 26, when Amyntas, their last king and the favourite successively of Augustus and Antony, was murdered, and the country finally placed under a Roman governor.

In character they are described as a free impetuous race, ever ready to bear arms for themselves or others. For a long time after their settlement in Asia, they retained their national and religious

customs, the latter even including that of human sacrifices. St. Jerome (Gal. i. 2.) describes them, even in his own day, as having a peculiar dialect, which he compares to the German spoken about Trèves. Their government in early times was a military aristocracy divided into twelve tetrarchies, the respective chiefs of which were not hereditary, but elected. The Gauls themselves were apportioned in three tribes, and two subject peoples existed side by side with them, the Greeks and Phrygians, to whom they stood in the same relation as the Spartans to the Laeonians and Messenians. Gradually the language and religion of the conquered made an impression on the conquerors. That they must have understood Greek is proved by the Epistle itself; and their supreme Council of three hundred corresponding to the tetrarchies of which Strabo (xii. 567.) speaks, was probably of Greek origin. And long before this time they had adopted or added to their own religion the rites of Cybele, and participated in the worship on Mount Dindymus and the gainful occupation of selling the oracles of the Goddess to the rest of Asia.

The chief towns of Galatia were Ancyra the capital, Pessinus, at the foot of Mount Dindymus, and Tavium and Gaolasera on the Eastern border. From the use of the plural (*ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις*) we may gather that the Churches were scattered throughout the district, in more than one village or town. It is impossible to say what the names of these Churches were, or whether the Epistle is addressed to converts who were Gauls, Phrygians, or Greeks by origin. Only the tone of the Apostle and the fickleness of those who received him "as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus," (comp. Acts xiv. 16—19., xxviii. 6.) "and afterwards became his enemies," may lead us to conjecture that he is addressing a people subject to violent religious impulses, a people such as might have been celebrated for their ancient Phrygian and Bacchic rites, amongst whom in heathen days extravagant superstition most readily found a home; and who, when converted to Christianity, gave birth to Phrygian heretics and to the Montanism of the second century.

SUBJECT OF THE EPISTLE.

THE Epistle to the Galatians may be conveniently divided into three sections:—(1.) the narrative, which may be compared with 1 Thess. iii. 1—7., and which terminates with the address to Peter in the second chapter; (2.) an argumentative portion based chiefly on the Old Testament, and nearly coextensive with chapters iii. and iv.; and (3.) a practical section in which the liberty of the Gospel is enforced as a rule of life. This division, however, is of no other value than as a help to the memory; for there is no regular plan or structure. The Apostle is not composing an essay; he writes because he cannot help writing; because in his own language “he would be straitened if he refrained.” Even the calmer passages, such as the narrative of his visits to Jerusalem, and the arguments from the promise to Abraham and his two sons, are interrupted by expressions full of vehemence and passion. The Father will speak with his children; the teacher must “change his voice” to his rebellious disciples. Their conduct was an injury to himself, and a wrong to the truth which he preached. At all events, by some means or other, he will stop this Judaism that is creeping over the Church of Galatia, which he indignantly feels to be strangely contrary to the Gospel which he has taught them. They appear to fancy that he is inferior to the Apostles at Jerusalem. That is not the case. Those who seemed to be somewhat are, in reality, scarcely his equals; for they added nothing to him in the hour of trial, and were wrong when he was right. What strange infatuation has come over them? They must begin again, and recall the feelings of their conversion. In the law itself they may read their own condemnation. For the law,

too, spoke of a promise that was made before the law, of the righteousness of faith, of the bond and free. He will make an appeal to them of another kind. Will they not hear his voice to whom they had once shown so intense a love? Their old affection has passed away; a few designing men have made a prey of them, and now they know him no more. He spoke too plainly to them on his last visit. What remained but that he should again warn them to preserve liberty; to eschew licentiousness; to remember that if a man was circumcised, he was a debtor to keep the whole law, and that Christ would profit him nothing; and yet not to forget, if they could receive it, the higher lesson that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availed anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."

The style and subject of the Epistle to the Galatians may be further drawn out by a comparison with the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians, with which, in date, it nearly coincides. The Epistle to the Galatians exhibits, in a more compendious form, and, perhaps, in an earlier stage, the same truths which are more fully developed in the Epistle to the Romans. The differences between them may be summed up as follows:—1. The Epistle to the Galatians is personal and occasional, while that to the Romans is addressed to a Church unknown to the Apostle, and has less the character of a letter, and more that of a treatise, than any other of the Epistles. 2. The one treats of circumcision as a question of practice; the other of the law as a burden on the heart and conscience. 3. The argument in the one is partial and fragmentary, returning often to "the weak and beggarly elements;" that of the other comprehensive and continuous, extending over all mankind and all time; embodying the strife of good and evil in the heart of man, and tracing the same strife of death and life in the first and second Adam. 4. The Epistle to the Galatians is an argument or expostulation with Judaizing opponents; the Epistle to the Romans is an argument or dialogue with self, in which the opponent is only a shadow, or idea, the "old man" of the Apostle's own thoughts,

not the Jewish Christian with whom he is in actual conflict. 5. In the Epistle to the Romans several topics occur which are scarcely touched upon in the Epistle to the Galatians; such are the restoration of the Jews, the state of the heathen world, the manifestation of the sons of God, the exhortation to obey rulers, the question of abstinence from animal food. On the other hand, they have, in common, the following striking points:—The doctrine of justification by faith, as illustrated by the instance of Abraham; the universality of the Gospel of Christ, in whom is no distinction of Jew or Greek, bond or free; the nature of sin as a transgression of the law which is alluded to in Gal. ii. 18, 19., and in iii. 19.; the identity of the Christian with Christ, and of the Spirit of Christ with the soul of the Christian, as in Gal. iv. 5, 6.; the mention of the observance of days and months, Gal. iv. 10., which are treated with a difference corresponding to the difference between the two Epistles; that is to say, in the Romans as indifferent, in the Galatians as hurtful and indicative of further evil; the exhortations against Antinomianism in Rom. vi. and Gal. v. 13.; the sonship of the Gospel contrasted with the servitude of the former dispensation, Rom. viii. 16., Gal. iv. 6.; the summary of sins or works of the flesh, Gal. v. 20., Rom. i. 29.

The Epistle to the Galatians has also a bearing on the personal history and life of the Apostle, touching which it may be considered as standing in the same relation to the Epistles to the Corinthians that it does to the Epistle to the Romans when regarded in reference to his teaching and doctrine. Here begins to show itself that difference from the other Apostles and antagonism with the Judaizers which reappears in the Epistle to the Corinthians, which did not cease because the Apostle, during his imprisonment at Rome, was removed from the scene of conflict. Here begins that alienation from the teaching of St. Paul which in the Acts of the Apostles is foreboded by himself (xx. 29.), which was ever going on, and which, according to the latest Epistle that bears his name (2 Tim. i. 15.), was finally

consummated in the cities of Asia towards the close of his life. (See Essay on St. Paul and the Twelve.)

Other points also occur of similarity or connection in the two Epistles. The same character in nearly the same circumstances, using the same words, a few months, perhaps a year, sooner or later, appears in both. Allusions, more or less plain, occur in both Epistles to the work in which the Apostle was engaged at this time, of making a collection for the saints at Jerusalem (Compare Gal. vi. 6., 1 Cor. xvi. 1., 2 Cor. ix. 6.); and both refer to the division of labour between St. Paul and the Apostles of the circumcision (2 Cor. x. 15., Gal. ii. 9.). There are differences also suited to the difference of those whom he is addressing. It has been often remarked that the Epistle to the Galatians is the only one among the Epistles of St. Paul which does not open with language of conciliation. It is not "ye are enriched in all utterance and come behind in no gift;" but, "I marvel that ye are so soon fallen away from Him that called you." In the Epistles to the Corinthians he is still on terms with his opponents; he seeks to conciliate, quite as much as to awe, them; he apologises for himself; he speaks to them as to men who had not forfeited their claim to that language of Christian courtesy in which he delights to address them, and who might be made better by his good opinion of them. On the other hand, in the Galatians there is a sort of freshness in his indignation: he commences the attack at once without caring to defend himself; he knows no middle term, and keeps no measures with them. Yet his heart returns even to them; he is more in sorrow than in anger; he cannot suppress the yearnings of a father towards his spiritual children (iv. 19.). Some other differences are also observable in the subjects treated of. In the Galatians the Apostle confines himself to the single point of circumcision and freedom from the Jewish law (not to be made a cloak of licentiousness); in the Corinthians he scarcely alludes to circumcision, or the Jewish law, but handles a variety of topics, relating partly to Church order, partly to his own defence against the charges of his opponents. The one is addressed to a civilised

community, intelligent of arguments, fruitful in opinions, fertile in drawing distinctions; the other to a half-barbarous people, whom it was the Apostle's great object to protect from the external rite of circumcision.

It is to the second Epistle to the Corinthians that the Epistle to the Galatians offers the greatest resemblance. In both there is the same sensitiveness in the Apostle to the behaviour of his converts to himself, the same earnestness about the points of difference, the same remembrance of his own "infirmity" while he was yet with them, the same consciousness of the precarious basis on which his own authority rested in the existing state of the two Churches. Abruptness of style is characteristic of both; the excitement of feeling seems to clog the current of ideas. Both Epistles display a greater emotion than is to be found in any other portion of his writings, a deeper contrast of inward exaltation and outward suffering, more of personal entreaty, a greater readiness to assert himself; all together seeming to tell us what he told the people of Derbe and Lystra, that he "was a man of like passions with ourselves," and working through the instrumentality of those passions, yet not the less approved of God in his high calling. In such passages as "Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," at the end of the Galatians, or in the similar feeling of the verse of the Corinthians, "I think that God hath set forth us the Apostles last appointed unto death," we seem to trace a momentary reaction in the mind of him on whom came "the care of all the Churches."

The slight allusion to the Churches of Galatia in 1 Cor. xvi. 1. is interesting, as an indication that the Apostle did not, at this time, break off his connection with them. Had we a second Epistle to the Galatians, it might possibly have shown that the first Epistle had worked the same "revenge" in them which the first Epistle to the Corinthians had effected in the Church at Corinth. In the last years of the Apostle's life one of his fellow-labourers is mentioned as having "gone into Galatia" (2 Tim. iv. 10.). Such intimations are

straws at which we catch, because we have nothing else. We cannot be too often reminded that our knowledge of the Church of the Apostles is derived from isolated passages; it is dotted down on particular spots; it is scattered at intervals over many years. No ingenuity can piece together fragments into a continuous and connected history of the Christian world in the first century.

GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLE.

No one has doubted the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians; it is not, therefore, necessary to recapitulate at length the evidence in its favour. That evidence consists of the testimonies of Patristic as well as of heretical writers, from the time of Irenæus downwards, going back, that is, to within a century of the date of its composition. But here a doubt may be raised respecting the value of the testimonies themselves; for it may be truly urged, that evidence as ancient, and as nearly contemporary, can be quoted in favour of the Gospel of St. James, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Revelation of Peter, and other spurious writings. Why is it, then, that a short Epistle like that to the Galatians has been universally acknowledged, even by critics of the most extreme school, as a genuine writing of St. Paul?

The reason of this universal agreement is the internal evidence of its genuineness. Considering the number of forgeries, which we know to have existed in the second century, and the absence either of the spirit or of the faculty of criticism in the early church, we cannot set a high value on the testimony of the Fathers, except to events which were contemporary with themselves. What they really testify respecting the books of the New Testament is to their use and authority in their own day as the writings of the authors whose names they bear. But if the external testimony to the books of Scripture seems to be in this way weakened, the internal evidence of the genuineness of many of them may be regarded as greatly enhanced. What criticism has restored, though incapable of being put in a definite and tangible form, abundantly compensates for

what it has destroyed. If it will not allow us to take our stand upon tradition, it supplies us with many new kinds of proof. It enables us to affirm that a particular writing, from the richness of its style, the mannerisms of thought and language, the minuteness of the detail, the consistency, and, sometimes, the very singularity of the events recorded in it, must be an original, and not a mere imitation. It analyses the character which is proper to an individual writer, and can be in no two writers the same. And it fortunately happens, that the age least capable of affording reliable external testimony, is the age also least capable of feigning the marks of a genuine writing.

The internal evidence for the Epistle to the Galatians is of two kinds:—First, that from the manner and character of St. Paul: secondly, from the allusions to the history. No forger ever made an imitation in which were so many secret threads of similarity, which bore such a stamp of originality, or in which the character, the passion, the language, the mode of thought and reasoning, were so naturally represented. No forger, either with or without the Acts before him, would have given such an account of the relation of St. Paul to the other Apostles as we here find. There was no period in the later history of the Church in which such a state of things could naturally have been conceived. Least of all could the dispute at Antioch, so agreeable to the character of the two Apostles, yet so unlike the first thoughts of a later age respecting the earliest Christian Church, have been invented in the second century. That Origen, as well as Jerome and Chrysostom, can only account for so remarkable a passage of history by resolving it into a collusion between the Apostles, is a real proof of the improbability of such a fiction.

The close verbal resemblances of the Epistle to the Galatians to the Epistles to the Corinthians or the Romans, like those between the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, may seem to call for notice, as being, at first sight, inconsistent with the view here maintained. Further consideration will show that they afford an

additional confirmation of the genuineness of the Epistle (compare Introduction to the Epistle to the Thessalonians). It is true that mere copying or imitation is generally a proof of the spuriousness of one at least of two writings. But there is a kind of resemblance also which springs from the mind or pen of the same writer, and which is, therefore, an evidence of the genuineness of the writings in which the resemblance is found. A person, for example, who has not the pen of a ready writer is apt to repeat the same words, phrases, sentiments; it will often happen that at one time or place he may have one set of expressions, at another time a different one. Such appears to be the case in the Epistles of St. Paul. Similarities, not of style but of expression, short sentences repeated and strung in a new way, arguments abridged, favourite allusions newly pointed—these are not the marks of ancient literary imposture. Many forgeries exist which are interpolated with genuine passages, having all degrees of corruption or depravation. But it may be doubted whether there are any which stand in the same relation either to genuine or forged writings, as the Epistle to the Colossians to that to the Ephesians, or that to the Galatians to those to the Corinthians or Romans. The kind of likeness that exists between them is, therefore, a proof, so far as it goes, not of spuriousness, but genuineness.

TIME AND PLACE OF THE EPISTLE.

FROM the eighth verse of the first chapter of the Galatians, we gather that the Apostle was already known by face to the church which he was addressing — “But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed:” from the thirteenth verse of the fourth chapter we may gather, also, that he had visited the Galatians, not only once, but twice — “Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the Gospel to you *at the first*,” τὸ πρότερον. This inference receives some confirmation from verses 15 and 16. of the same chapter, where he speaks, first, of the blessedness which they felt in receiving him; and then, secondly, of his having become their enemy by speaking the truth to them; a change which is too great to have taken place during a single visit, or at least may be more naturally explained by the supposition of an interval. And the words (i. 6.), “I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel,” seem to imply that a short time only intervened between the second of these two visits and the writing of the Epistle. Though, indeed, it may be urged, in reference to these latter words, that impassioned language is not to be strictly reasoned about.

Further, the Epistle was written after two journeys to Jerusalem, i. 18., ii. 1., and a subsequent meeting with Peter at Antioch, ii. 11. Assuming the visit mentioned in Gal. ii. 1. to be the same with that commonly called the Council in Acts xv. (see note at the end of ch. ii.), we have a point of connection with the history. Applying the Epistle to the Acts, we find that the two visits to Galatia

mentioned in the Epistle coincide with Acts xvi. 6. and xviii. 23.; the first, a visit made at the commencement of his second missionary journey; the latter, during what is sometimes called his third journey, but previously to his stay at Ephesus. Mention is also made in Acts xviii. 22. of St. Paul having been at Antioch, which may possibly have been (see notes) the occasion of his meeting with Peter in that city. Further, the words of vi. 17., "Henceforth, let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," afford a presumption that the Apostle had been suffering recently the violence of persecution, perhaps in Ephesus (1 Cor. xv. 32.). More important than either of these possibilities is the absence of all allusion to the last journey to Jerusalem, in the second chapter which fixes the date of the Epistle prior to that event. It is observable, however, that the second and fourth journeys to Jerusalem are also omitted; though from this omission no other inference can be drawn, except that these journeys were not present at the time of writing to the Apostle's mind, either because they were unimportant or had no bearing on the subject of which he is speaking. Unless, indeed, we adhere strictly to the words of the Apostle, and suppose these journeys to have been erroneously inserted by the author of the Acts of the Apostles.

These are all the data for determining the time at which the Epistle was written, except the internal evidences from the style and character of the Epistle itself, and the state of the church which it represents. It is unlike the Epistles of the imprisonment; it has close verbal resemblances, as well as other points of likeness, to the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians (see above); like them it belongs to a period of trouble and controversy between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Thence we infer that it was written before the imprisonment of St. Paul at Cesaræa and Rome, and probably about the same time with the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans, the date of which is accurately fixed by the allusions in the Epistles themselves. Already by a different road we have arrived at the same conclusion. For it was shown above that the sending of the

Epistle must have been preceded by a second visit to Galatia, and must have itself preceded the last journey to Jerusalem. That is to say, it falls into that period of the Apostle's life which was passed at Ephesus, after his return thither from Galatia and Phrygia, in Macedonia and at Corinth.

The date of the Epistle to the Galatians cannot be fixed with more precise accuracy, whether the order of the Epistles of St. Paul is Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, as, upon the whole, has been the most prevalent opinion; or 1 Cor., Gal., 2 Cor., Romans, or 1, 2 Cor., Gal., Romans, must remain uncertain. The order given last has been supported by able and ingenious arguments derived from the close verbal resemblances of the Epistle to the Galatians to the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians. That order is maintained to be the true one, according to which the Epistle to the Galatians is placed in the closest contact with the others. The resemblances which lead to this conclusion, like those of the Colossians, and Ephesians, and of the Pastoral Epistles, are indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the style of St. Paul. But when it is remembered that the resemblances of the Epistle to the Thessalonians to some of the other Epistles are so close as to have aroused suspicions of designed imitation, notwithstanding that this Epistle is separated in point of time from all the later writings of St. Paul by an interval of at least four years, it seems as if no certain inference of proximity of date can be drawn for resemblances of this kind, and that some other explanation of them is required. (See page 246. and *infra*, conclusion of Essay on the chronology of St. Paul's life.)

CHAPTERS I. II.

THE main object of the first portion of the Epistle is to assert the independent authority of the Apostle against the attacks of the Judaizers. The words, "Paul, an Apostle, not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ," are the text of the two first chapters; and the narrative which follows is the commentary. He begins by denouncing the treason of the Galatians against himself. After the burst of his indignation has subsided, the Apostle proceeds to state facts illustrative of his Divine mission, and his relation to the Twelve. First, his independence was marked by the manner of his conversion; he did not receive the Gospel through any human instrument, but by immediate revelation. His previous education, and the well-known circumstance that he had been a persecutor of the Church, were a bad preparation for such a call. No one could have expected that the Pharisee or zealot for the law would have become the servant of Christ. Nevertheless, it pleased God to work this change in him. The independence of his mission was further marked by the fact that, after his conversion, he did not go up to Jerusalem to throw himself into the arms of the Apostles, but away from it, and only after long intervals went there at all, and then saw but one or two of them, and only for a few days; so entirely were his teaching and office his own, for so little was he indebted to them. He had never preached to the Jewish Churches; he was unknown to them by face, and only a report had reached them, which they received with joy and thankfulness, that the persecutor of the Gospel had now become its preacher.

In the second chapter, with a like object, he describes the freedom

of his conduct at what is termed the Council of Jerusalem. He refused to yield (or, according to another interpretation, declares himself to have yielded only from motives of expediency and fear of treachery) the circumcision of Titus to the demands of the false brethren. He was not overawed by the greatness of the other Apostles, whom he met as their equal; and it was owing to himself rather than to them that a successful resistance was made to the Judaizing Christians. Yet they parted in love and fellowship; the heads of the Church at Jerusalem reminding him of the wants of their poor members, a labour of love in which he was very willing to join. They saw that he himself was among the Gentiles what Peter was to the circumcision, and they agreed to divide the field of labour. Afterwards Peter followed him to Antioch, where, if he did not violate the letter, he at any rate forgot the spirit, of their agreement. On this occasion he openly resisted him, and boldly reasoned with him, as "building up the things which he had pulled down." These are the proofs that he was an Apostle, not of men, nor by man, and had an authority at least equal to the other Apostles, to whom the Judaizers made their appeal.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ.

ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΛΑΤΑΣ

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, 1
ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος

1. The Epistle to the Galatians is the only one among St. Paul's Epistles, in which he omits all words of compliment or friendship in the opening verses. In other Epistles he begins with commendation, and passes on to reproof when he has gained a hold on the affections of those whom he is addressing. Thus, in the case of the Corinthian Church, though they had grave faults, and ought rather to have mourned for the sin of the incestuous person, and their many divisions and profaneness in celebration of the Lord's Supper, he introduces himself to them with words of conciliation:—"I thank my God always on your behalf for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ, that in every thing ye are enriched by him in all utterance and in all knowledge;" and so passes on to his censure. But in the Epistle to the Galatians he adopts a different course, either because it was more natural to his own feelings, or the actual state of the Church was worse or more likely to be roused by the severity of his tone.

Most of the salutations of the Epistles go beyond the language of Christian greeting. In their simplest form, they remind us of the words of Christ, "Peace I

leave with you, my peace I give unto you." But the Apostle, whose mind is full of the mystery of the Gospel, adds clause to clause, and parenthesis to parenthesis, until, as in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, the salutation is the proem of the whole Epistle. The truths of the Gospel are never out of place to him, and he supposes them to be always present to those whom he is addressing.

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, *Paul, an apostle, not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.*] As in the Romans, the Apostle begins with the emphatic assertion of his authority. The words "not of man neither by man" are the text of the whole Epistle. The first, ἀπό (of), has been supposed to mark the source; the second, διὰ (by), the means:—"Who have an immediate call from God, and am not ordained by laying on of hands of any," like the subordinate ministers of the Apostles at Jerusalem. No such nice distinctions are really in the Apostle's mind; he only means to say—"Paul, in no sense a human Apostle."

Antithesis of prepositions is a favourite use of language in the writings of St. Paul. In the New Testament, and sometimes in

GALATIANS.

- 1 PAUL, an apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from

Aristotle, the mind of the writer supplies itself with logical or grammatical distinctions, which, although they are capable of being translated and explained, and have English words corresponding to them, we may also deduct or generalise without injury to the sense. (Compare Aris. N. E. iii. 5. 14., vi. 13. 5.; Rom. iii. 30.; 1 Cor. xii. 8.; 2 Cor. iii. 11.) Distinctions of this kind often arise out of an imperfect mastery over language; in some instances they may be due also to over cultivation of language. Often they are modes of emphasis, and may be compared in St. Paul to the pleonastic accumulations of words with which his style abounds. Nice doctrinal or metaphysical considerations have nothing to do with them; they are due to intensity of feeling rather than to the subtlety of logic.

Παῦλος, *Paul*.] "Saul, who is also called Paul;" Acts, xiii. 9. No certain conclusion can be arrived at respecting the origin of the second name, which may, perhaps, need no other explanation than that St. Paul was a Roman citizen as well as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." It is a groundless fancy that it was assumed by the Apostle after his conversion; equally so that its adoption had any connection with

the reception of the Gospel by Sergius Paulus, which in the narrative of the Acts immediately precedes the passage just quoted, in which the name is first used. The Apostle is called Saul in the earlier portion of the Acts, while among Jews: the name Paul is first given him at the commencement of his more extended mission to the heathen. That he bore a Gentile name, which he uses in all his Epistles, could not have been without significance to himself.

ἀπόστολος, *an apostle*.] What was the nature of the Apostolical office, and in what sense was St. Paul an Apostle? In endeavouring to answer this question, which has been already touched upon, on 1 Thessalonians, we must distinguish the application of the term to St. Paul from its application to the Twelve, as well as from that wider sense in which it was occasionally used of other preachers of the Gospel, 2 Cor. viii. 23.; Phil. ii. 25. The Twelve were the appointed witnesses of Christ, "who had been with him during all the time that he went in and out among his disciples." (Acts, i. 21, 22.) Some of them appear also to have been the "pillars" of the Church at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 9., and to have preached in distant countries, in

αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, ταῖς 2
ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ 3

accordance with His word. They are recognised by St. Paul as a separate body, in 1 Cor. xv. 5.; and are mentioned as the "Twelve" in Rev. xxi. 14. Their number may possibly have had a relation to the number of the tribes; Luke, xxii. 30. More than this we cannot say. Whatever tradition may have added to their history, or modern association appended to their name, must not withdraw us from the main idea of the Apostolical office, which was that of an immediate and personal relation to Christ in the first teachers of the Gospel.

That in this stricter sense the term is not applicable to St. Paul, is obvious. It might be said of him in his own words, that he was an Apostle, "not in the letter but in the spirit." To the Judaizers any addition to the Twelve would have been a violation of the sacred number appointed by Christ himself. The Apostle urges other claims to the title, 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2:—"Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? If I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." All the language that St. Paul uses on this subject shows, first, that he did place himself on a level with the Twelve; secondly, that his call to the Apostleship did not, in his own mind, rest on some one definite act, such as is spoken of in Acts, xiii. 2, 3., but partly on the revelation to him, at his conversion; partly on the fact of his

having, like the other Apostles, seen the Lord; partly on the success of his labours, as well as on his own inward intense conviction that this was the work which he was appointed to do. It is remarkable that the necessity which he felt, for the sake of truth, to establish his authority on an independent basis, does not prevent the acknowledgment in this passage, ver. 13.; or the still more striking one in 1 Cor. xv. 9:—"For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God."

οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, *nor by man.*] The change from the plural to the singular seems to arise from the juxtaposition of διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, "not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ." The word ἀνθρώπος is abstract, not concrete; it is not necessary to translate "by a man." Compare 1 Cor. xv. 21. The preposition διὰ (by) is not applicable in the same sense to all the three words ἀνθρώπου, χριστοῦ, θεοῦ, which is another reason for not pressing the antithesis of ἀπό and διὰ. διὰ is applied to God, either by attraction from χριστοῦ, or in connection with the particular act of raising up Christ, or as He is the beginning and end of all things, including in Himself the means. (Compare Romans, xi. 36., and iv. 7., Lachm.) Chrysostom supposes that, having applied the word διὰ to Christ, the Apostle applies it also to the Father, lest it should occur to any to degrade the Son to the rank of a subordinate minister.

2 the dead;) and all the brethren which are with me, unto
3 the churches of Galatia; grace be to you and peace from

This is the mind, not of the Apostolic, but of the Nicene age.

θεοῦ πατρός, *God the Father.*]

Of whom is God said to be the father? of Christ or of mankind? It may be answered that in the Old Testament God is the Father of the Jewish people; in the New Testament, of Christ, and through Him of mankind. Yet the word itself does not necessarily involve these associations. It may express the feeling "by which we say, Abba Father," without awakening the thought of "sons or children." From being relative, it becomes absolute. Only in some passages, as here, its original idea is recalled by the mention of the Lord Jesus Christ.

τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
who raised him from the dead.]

As we might say,—“God who gave his only begotten Son.” St. Paul extends the same form of language to the separate acts of our Lord’s life:—“God who raised up Christ,” and the like; the whole work of Christ, in all its parts, becoming an attribute of God.

The conception of the resurrection of Christ is almost confined, in modern times, to the fact, that “after three days he rose again.” In St. Paul it has a much wider import; it is a new life of Christians as well as Christ,—a resurrection of the believer at the same time with his Lord. Altogether, there are four ways in which the resurrection of Christ is spoken of in the Epistles of St. Paul, the ethical or spiritual meaning often blending with the literal fact.

First, the resurrection is spoken

of as an outward fact, of which there were many witnesses (1 Cor. xv. 1—6.); itself a proof of the truth of the Christian faith (ver. 14, 15.); the evidence, or—as the expression is turned in the Epistle to the Romans (i. 4.)—the cause of the Divine Sonship of Christ. Secondly, as an idea or doctrine, forming a part, also, or aspect, of the inner life of the Gospel. According to this way of speaking, it is the source of justification, which is said to be related to the resurrection of Christ in the same manner as sin is said to be related to his death (Rom. iv. 24, 25.; x. 9.). Thirdly, as the figure or condition, almost the cause, of the resurrection of believers, which is identified with the resurrection of Christ as the Christian is with Christ himself (Col. i. 15. 18.). The power which raised up Christ is able to raise all men; nor can the head be separated from the body, nor the “First-born from the dead” from those who are his. Fourthly, as the figure, or condition, or principle of spiritual resurrection:—not only “he died, and the third day he rose again,” but “Christ in you, the hope of glory” (Col. i. 27.); and “if we have been united in the likeness of his death, we shall also be in the likeness of his resurrection” (Rom. vi. 5.),—an image which, in the passage just quoted, and in Col. ii. 12., is connected with the death of baptism.

These four senses, or points of view, in which the resurrection of Christ is spoken of, easily pass into one another. Compare Rom.

πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν 4
περὶ¹ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ² αἵωνος

¹ ὑπέρ.

² ἐνεσ. αἰῶ. πονηροῦ.

vi. 4., "That like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life;" where, in the first clause, the resurrection is literal; in the second, spiritual.

2. οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, *all the brethren which are with me.*] It is doubted whether St. Paul is here speaking: (1.) only of two or three of his companions, who accompanied him in his journey; or, (2.) of his fellow-labourers in general; or, (3.) of the whole Church. The first seems too small a number for the word πάντες (all); while the second does not appear justified by the passages which are cited in support of it, viz. 1 Cor. i. 1.; 2 Cor. i. 1.; Phil. iv. 23. A more general interpretation is preferable. The words themselves are vague and undefined. It is as if in a private letter we were to say, "All here unite with me," &c.; that is to say, not the servants of the household, nor friends in the neighbourhood, but all whom, according to the usual forms of speech, it would occur to our correspondent to include in these words.

ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, *the Churches in Galatia,*] mentioned in the Acts, xvi. 6., xviii. 23., on the occasion of St. Paul's two visits to them; and in 1 Cor. xvi. 1., as making a collection for the Church at Jerusalem, and in 1 Peter, i. 1., as having among them "strangers of the dispersion."

3. χάρις ὑμῖν.] See 1 Thess. i. 1.

4. τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, *who gave himself for our sins.*] περὶ, not ὑπέρ, is the true reading. It may be compared, in this passage, with περὶ ἁμαρτίας, in Romans, viii. 3., the same expression being also used by the LXX. for a sin offering, Lev. vi. 30.; Ps. xxxix. 6.

The language of sacrifice in the New Testament is borrowed from the Old; it grows naturally out of the use of sacrifice in the elder world. It may be briefly remarked:—(1.) that such language had already become figurative (almost privative) in the Old Testament itself, as when the Psalmist said, li. 17., "The sacrifices of God are a contrite spirit;" (2.) that the figures which describe the work of Christ are varied, thereby showing that they are figures only, and cannot be insisted upon as matters of fact; (3.) that the same language of sacrifice and death is applied almost equally to the believer and to his Lord; (4.) that the effect and meaning of this language must have been different while the sacrifices were being daily offered, and now that they have passed away; (5.) that expressions such as that of the text are not so common in the writings of St. Paul as another class of figures, in which the believer is identified with the various stages of the life of Christ; (6.) that the thing meant by them is, chiefly, that he was the Saviour

4 God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from

of mankind, the victim of sinful men, taking their sins upon himself in the same sense that he took their diseases upon himself (Matt. viii. 17.), and also truly imparting freedom and forgiveness. Lastly, the death of Christ is not to be isolated from his life, nor the language of the Epistles from the language of the Gospel. (See Essay on the Atonement.)

ὅπως ἐξέλθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ, *that he may take us out of this evil world present.*] These words contain an allusion to the Jewish distinction of αἰὼν ἐνεστώς, or αἰὼν οὗτος, and the αἰὼν μέλλων, the times before and after the inauguration of Messiah's kingdom. But their meaning may be said to vary as the thing signified by them assumes to the believer a more inward or outward nature, is more past or present. The αἰὼν ἐνεστώς is the world around him, from which the Christian withdraws into communion with God, from which he shall be delivered finally in the world of glory. It is called evil, in the same spirit in which the Apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together until now;" also as it is the scene of the believer's trials and persecutions, in which he is waiting, too, for the redemption of the body.

To this present world of evil is opposed the future world, of which Christ is the Lord. The one is the creation made subject to bondage, "full of principalities and powers, and spiritual

wickedness in heavenly places;" the other is the glorious liberty of the children of God. A trace of the same thought occurs in the word ἐνεστώσα in 1 Cor. vii. 6.: διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην, "on account of this present necessity." The mind of the Apostle is overpowered by the contrast of faith and sight; the bondage and constraint of the world, which might well make a man go out of the world, and the hope of salvation, "which is nearer than when we believed." There is a tone of suffering and sadness expressed in this verse: it is the feeling of the close of the Epistle:—"I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

The word αἰὼν passes through the same change of meaning in the new Testament as the Latin word "sæculum." First it is used for continuance of time,—“Thou shalt not wash my feet εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,” for ever; or with more emphasis, as in John, vi. 51.; ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, “shall live for ever;” or still more strongly in the plural, of the eternal existence of God, or the everlasting happiness of the blessed, as in the Book of Revelation. In the writers of the New Testament, as in the Jewish writers, ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος, Romans, xii. 2., ἐνεστώς, as in this place, ὁ νῦν, as in 1 Tim. vi. 17., are opposed to ὁ αἰὼν ἐκείνός, Luke, xx. 34., ὁ μέλλων, Matt. xii. 32., ἐρχόμενος, Luke, xviii. 20., as present and future, as evil and good.

The idea of ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος is further illustrated by Eph. ii. 2.:—"And you (hath he quickened),

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς
 ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. 5

Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κα- 6
 λέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον,
 ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσοντες ὑμᾶς 7
 καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέφαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ χριστοῦ. ἀλλὰ 8
 καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν

being dead in trespasses and sins, wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,"—which not only gives the associations implied in ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, but assists in explaining the change of meaning by which αἰὼν comes to signify the world without the idea of time; as in Heb. xi. 3., "The worlds are framed by the word of God;" or in 1 Corinth. i. 20. "The disputer of this world." Comp. also our uses of "the world," for the heavens and earth and all things in them; for this present state, as opposed to the life to come; also, in a bad sense, for the world, whether within or without man, as opposed to the kingdom of God; and in a neutral one, irrespective of good or evil, to signify the mass of mankind, or the public opinion of mankind.

5. ᾧ ἡ δόξα,] to whom be the glory that belongs to Him.

6. οὕτως ταχέως, *so soon*,] i. e. after their conversion (cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος). Quickly and slowly are relative terms, and cannot therefore be pressed in the argument respecting the date of the epistle. It may, however, be fairly argued from these words that the epistle could not have

been written many years after the visits of the Apostle which are recorded in the Acts.

μετατίθεσθε,] either middle, "that ye are so soon changing," or passive, "transferred."

ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς, *from Him that called you*.] ὁ καλέσας does not refer to St. Paul, the human instrument, but to God Himself. Compare ver. 15., Rom. viii. 30. The allegiance from which they had departed was not to the Apostle but to God.

ἐν χάριτι χριστοῦ, *in the grace of Christ*.] Interpreters doubt whether ἐν is here instrumental, or put for εἰς, or a confusion of ἐν and εἰς. It is better to regard the whole expression as an amplification or variation of ἐν χριστῷ. Comp. 1 Cor. vii. 15. :—ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός.

εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, *to another Gospel*.] Some of the characteristics of this other Gospel may be inferred from the Epistle. First, it was a Gospel which was supposed to rest on the authority of the other Apostles rather than of St. Paul, as we gather from the tone of the first two chapters; secondly, it was a Gospel of the Circumcision, which required all the converts to conform to the law of Moses, and observe the times appointed by it, as we learn from chap. iv. 10. Yet it was not wholly different

this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

I marvel that ye are so soon * transferred from Him that called you in * the grace of Christ unto another gospel: which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any

from the Gospel of St. Paul; the name of Christ was doubtless retained in it, or it would not have been a Gospel at all (ver. 7.). It would be too much to infer, from chap. v. 15. 26., that it was a Gospel of licentiousness, as it is uncertain whether the Apostle is there addressing his own followers or his opponents, or both indifferently.

7. *ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, which is not another.*] Either, (1.) which turning aside is nothing else but certain troublers seeking to pervert the Gospel of Christ; or, (2.) which Gospel is not another Gospel (for there cannot be two Gospels), but only certain troublers who pervert it; *ἄλλο* being unemphatic in the first way of taking the words, emphatic in the second.

The last is the more probable explanation. It seems to have arisen, however, from a confusion of the former. What the Apostle meant to say was, “which change of mind,” or rather “which Gospel, is nothing else than the work of certain troublers,” and a mere perversion of the true Gospel. But the similarity of meaning in *ἄλλο* and *ἕτερον* caught his mind in the act of framing the sentence, and led him to give a new sense to *ἄλλο*, which occasioned the further alteration of *ἡ* into *εἰ μή*. He may be said to make a denial

or correction of his former statement in the words *ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο*, and to qualify again in the clause beginning with *εἰ μή*. An additional confusion has arisen from the uncertainty whether *ὁ* is to be referred to *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον*, or to *εὐαγγέλιον* only.

Compare for a similar variation, without difference of meaning, in *ἄλλο* and *ἕτερον*, 2 Cor. xi. 4.:—*εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν, ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε*; also, as showing the same kind of acknowledgment that there was a Gospel contained even in the preaching of his opponents, Philip. i. 15.:—“Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will: the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds; what then, notwithstanding, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached;” for the play of words, Gal. iii. 20.:—*ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἔστιν*; for the correction:—*εἰ γε καὶ εἰκῇ*, iii. 4.; and for *εἰ μή*, 1 Cor. vii. 17.

8. *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς, but though we,*] that is, St. Paul. The meaning may be paraphrased thus:—“But even though I myself, (not to speak of your false

παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ὡς προειρή- 9
καμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ'
ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω, 10
ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ¹ ἔτι ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἤρεσκον, χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην.

Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν 11
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ 12

¹ Add γάρ.

teachers,) or an angel from heaven, preach another Gospel, let him be accursed." Comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 1.:—"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels;" also, 2 Thess. ii. 2.:—"That ye be not soon troubled in mind, neither by Spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as by us." Schættgen gives the following parallel from a Rabbinical comment on Deut. xxx. 12.,—the law is not in heaven: "Quid sibi volunt hæc verba? Respondet R. Jeremias: Quum jam lex nobis de monte Sinai data sit non expectamus bath kol."

παρ' ὃ other than, besides, explained by ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μή τινές, κ. τ. λ.

ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, let him be accursed.] Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 22.:—"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema:" and Gal. v. 10:—"He that troubleth you shall bear his judgement."

9. ὡς προειρήκαμεν.] "I have said it before, and I say it again, let him be accursed." St. Paul may be referring either to the anathema in the preceding verse, as in 1 Cor. v. 9. he refers to his own words immediately preceding:—"I wrote unto you in the Epistle;" or he may allude to his own visit to them, probably

the second of the two occasions mentioned in Gal. iv. 15, 16. This latter mode of taking the expression gives increased force to ἄρτι πάλιν. "As I have told you when present, I say again now." Compare for the general meaning the Apostle's address to the Elders of Ephesus, Acts, xx. 27. 29.; and for προειρήκαμεν, 2 Cor. vii. 3., where the word appears to refer to the previous chapter; also, Gal. v. 3., vi. 11.; Eph. iii. 3.

10. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω, ἢ τὸν θεόν; for do I now persuade men, or God?] Comp. Matt. xxviii. 14., Acts, xiv. 19., for the use of πείθω, which applies properly to men, but improperly to God; or, in other words, requires a change of meaning before it can be used in the latter connection. It is here nearly equivalent to ζητῶ ἀρέσκειν, which follows, and may be translated so as to preserve the double meaning:—"For do I now seek to approve myself to man or to God?"

The strong language which the Apostle had just used might seem to need a justification. But the very use of it was an answer to a charge which the Judaizers brought against him,—that of want of sincerity.

A parallel instance of conduct among ourselves may serve as an

- other gospel unto you than that which we have preached
 9 unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so
 say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel
 unto you than ye have received, let him be accursed.
 10 For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to
 please men?¹ if I yet pleased men, I should not be the
 servant of Christ.
 11 But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was
 12 preached of me is not after man. For I neither received

¹ Add *for*.

illustration. A person is accused of flattery, smoothness, insincerity; something has led him to form an unfavourable judgement of others. Presently he thunders out the truth about them, adding the comment, "why, I would not be charged with want of sincerity this time." According to this mode of taking the passage, ἄρτι refers to the previous verse, perhaps arising out of the sound of the previous ἄρτι, but not connected with it in sense, "for now," i.e. in uttering these words; γάρ indicating a suppressed feeling in the Apostle's mind: "you say I am a pleaser of men." Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 1—7., 2 Cor. v. 11. It is not improbable that these words are suggested by actual charges which the opponents of the Apostle brought against him, such as he himself partly admits, "that he was to the Jews a Jew, to those without law, as one without law;" that while announcing the freedom of the Gospel, he was also preaching circumcision (v. 11.).

εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἡρέσκον, *if I yet pleased men.*] The Apostle does not mean that before his conversion, or at any other time in his life, "he had been a pleaser of

men." The expression, which is not free from difficulty, is most probably to be taken in a general sense; "If at this time, after all that has happened to me, I am, or were still, a pleaser of men, I could not be the servant of God." Comp. Matt. vi. 24.:—"No man can serve two masters;" and for the use of ἔτι, v. 11.

The Apostle now resumes the thread with which he commenced. He was an Apostle, not of man, nor by man; and now he goes on to add, the Gospel which he preached was not derived from the Apostles at Jerusalem, but from the revelation of Christ himself.

11. Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν,] "Now I give you to know, I draw your attention to the fact," is a favourite formula of the Apostle, occurring 1 Cor. xii. 3. xv., i., 2 Cor. viii. 1., similar in meaning to the words with which he commences 1 Cor. xii. 1.:—οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν.

κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, *human.*] A periphrasis for ἀνθρώπινον. With this is joined παρὰ ἀνθρώπου in the following verse.

12. For I did not receive it, and was not instructed in it by man, but Christ revealed it to me.

παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὐδὲ ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ· ἡκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν 13 ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, καὶ 14 προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων. ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεὸς] ὁ 15

It could not, therefore, be human. Comp. Eph. iii. 3.:—"How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; as I wrote before in few words."

Whether the occasion here alluded to is Acts, ix. 6., or Acts, xxii. 17., the first conversion of the Apostle, or the after trance in the temple mentioned by him in his speech to the Jews, or the occasion alluded to in the 2 Corinthians, xii. 4., when he was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable things, or some other occasion, is uncertain. He implies in the last-mentioned quotation that he had many revelations. Comp. Gal. ii. 2. In 1 Cor. ix. 1., he speaks generally of "having seen the Lord."

The full explanation of the word ἀποκάλυψις, revelation, is beyond the limits of a note. It is applied, first, to the manifestation of the Gospel, as hidden in the bosom of eternity, Rom. xvi. 25.—κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίων χρόνοις αἰώνιους σεσιγημένους; also to the day of judgement, Rom. ii. 5.:—ἡμέρα ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρίσιας τοῦ θεοῦ; also to the expected coming of Christ in such expressions as "revelation of the Lord," 1 Cor. i. 7.; "revelation of the sons of God," Rom. viii. 19.; also to the Book so termed; also to the gifts of in-

dividuals, one of which is termed the gift of revelation. In this sense it is placed side by side with visions in 2 Cor. xii. 1.:—"I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord." A spirit of wisdom and revelation is spoken of in Ephes. i. 17. In 2 Cor. xii. 7. St. Paul alludes to the abundance of his revelations; and lastly, in Gal. ii. 2., he receives a particular intimation that he should go up to Jerusalem by revelation.

Revelation is distinguished from ordinary moral and spiritual influences by its suddenness. It is an anticipation of moral truth and of the course of experience. No reason can be given why amid Canaanitish and Egyptian idolatries, a belief in the unity of God should have sunk into the hearts of men. No reason can be given why truth and justice should have been Divine attributes ages before philosophy became conscious of a moral principle. No reason can be given why our Saviour, himself living amid the rites of the Temple worship, should yet have taught a religion purely spiritual, which was a contradiction of the maxims of the Scribes and Pharisees, and an inversion of the common religious notions of mankind to the end of time.

It is this anticipation of truth,

it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation
 13 of Jesus Christ. For ye have heard of my conversation
 in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond
 measure I persecuted the church of God, and wasted it:
 14 and profited in the Jews' religion above many my
 equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly
 15 zealous of the traditions of my fathers. But when it

this communication of truth to particular persons, or at particular times out of the course of nature, in ways unlike the methods of human knowledge, that is termed in the language of theology "revelation." It is in this sense that we speak of Christianity as a revelation; of a Mosaic revelation; of revelation as opposed to reason or natural religion. The use of the word in the New Testament is more varied and less conventional. It might be explained in the language of the Book of Revelation as a "being in the spirit at the day of the Lord;" it may be contrasted with prophecy as universal, and not national only; it is relative to the "times of that ignorance which God winked at." He who was the subject of it might, like St. Paul, "be caught up into the third heaven;" he might hear a voice whispering to him, "My grace is sufficient for thee;" he might receive "lively oracles" respecting his own conduct or the government of the Church; he might have intimations respecting his "going in and coming out." We must not suppose that such intimations were mere illusions, because they no longer occur within the range of our own experience. Some faint approximation to them may be found still in the intuitions of

the mind respecting matters of conduct, or in the suddenness of thought itself.

13. οὐδὲ γάρ.] "For you, who know my former life, may well believe that it was by nothing short of a miracle I was converted. I will tell you the whole tale, and you will see how unlikely I was to have received the Gospel from the word of others."

ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ,] not Jewish theology, but more generally the Jewish religion "Judaism;" compare Ἰουδαίειν in Gal. ii. 14. τοῦ θεοῦ seems to be added here, as in 1 Cor. xv. 9., to exaggerate his offence. Comp. infra 23. and Acts, ix. 21.: ὁ πορθήσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους. The imperfect denotes continuance, and so emphasis.

Ver. 14. has the same object as the preceding:—"And I was, too, a learned Pharisee, distinguished above my equals,*and more than ordinarily zealous for the traditions of the Fathers," ἐν τῷ γένει μου, of my nation.

τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων.] Not the traditions of the Pharisees as opposed to the law, but generally all that it was proper for a Jew to believe.

15. ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν, but when it pleased God.] Was the substance of this revelation to St. Paul the image of Christ crucified, or the particular events of

ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς
 χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα 16
 εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσαν-
 εθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθον¹ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα 17
 πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀρα-
 βίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. — ἔπειτα μετὰ 18
 ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν², καὶ

¹ ἀνῆλθον.² Πέτρον.

His life, or the words which He used in discoursing with His disciples? Our only grounds for answering this question must be derived from the Epistles of St. Paul, which make no reference to any events narrated in the Gospel, with the exception of His death and resurrection, and the commemoration of Him in the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23.), until His coming again, and which in two instances at most,—1 Cor. vii. 10.; 1 Thess. iv. 15.,—if at all, appeal to words used by Him. Comp. also Acts, xx. 35., and 1 Cor. xv. 1—7.

The truth which was revealed to St. Paul on the way to Damascus, must have been the truth which he preached: Christ, the Messiah of the Jews,—the Son of God, in whom all are one,—who died and rose again for the sins of men,—who shall come in the day of the Lord. There is no reason to think that historical facts were supernaturally imparted to him; for these he appeals to the witness of the "Apostles who were before him." The revelation of which he is here speaking is of another kind, moral and spiritual, rather than historical,—a revelation of Christ in him, as the expression in this passage implies,—not external information brought

to him. It was the first of many revelations about himself,—2 Cor. xii. 1—9.; Acts, xxiii. 11.,—and about his mission to the Gentiles,—Acts, xvi. 6. 9., xxii. 17.,—of which he was the subject during his whole life. Knowledge came to him out of the course of nature, "not of man, nor by man:" the word of Christ was the lightning which "melted him, and the mould in which he was cast."

ἀφορίσας] has a double meaning: first, a literal and physical one; secondly, that of which this is the figure,—a spiritual one:—"Who took me out of my mother's womb, and separated me; or whose separation of me at my birth was the image of my separation unto himself." ἐκ refers to time. For the general meaning compare Jer. i. 5.: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations;" and Is. xlv. 2.; also note on Rom. i. 1.

16. ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱόν.] Comp. the expression used respecting the Galatians: "Before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth (προεγράφη) crucified."

ἐν ἐμοί.] in my inmost soul, not simply for ἐμοί. Comp. ᾧ

- pleased God, who from my mother's womb separated me,
 16 and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that
 I might preach him among the heathen; immediately
 17 I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I ¹ to
 Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but
 I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.
 18 Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see

¹ Add up.

λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου, Rom. i. 9. It was a revelation that dwelt in, and became one with, the Apostle's thoughts.

ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι.] Compare the narrative of the vision in the temple in Acts, xxii. 17—22.:—“Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.”

εὐθέως.] I straightway went away, taking no counsel with flesh and blood. εὐθέως is really connected with the second ἀπῆλθον; but the Apostle, whose thoughts outrun his words, has interposed the negative clause, to explain his purpose in going away.

οὐ προσανεθέμην.] I did not take counsel with. Comp. Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 116.:—τοῖς μάντεσι προσαναθέμενος περὶ τοῦ σημείου. Luc. Jup. Trag. § 1.:—ἐμοὶ προσανάθου· λάξε με σύμβουλον πόνων.

17. πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους.] Comp. 1. Cor. xv. 8.:—“Last of all he was seen of us also;” also Romans, xvi. 7.:—“Distinguished among the Apostles who were before me in the Lord.”

εἰς Ἀραβίαν,] in contrast to οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, “But I went in the opposite direction.”

18. ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία, then after three years.] The same

question arises here as in the first verse of the next chapter, “Whether the three years are to be reckoned from the conversion of the Apostle, or from the return to Damascus.” The first is in some degree favoured by the words of the preceding verse:—“Neither went I up to Jerusalem.” “I did not go up to Jerusalem then, but three years afterwards I did.” There is certainly more point in the particular mention of the length of the interval between the original departure of the Apostle and his first return, than of his sojourn at Damascus. “It was three whole years after my conversion,” rather than, “There was an interval of time which I passed in Arabia, besides three years at Damascus.” Whichever interpretation is adopted, no inference can be drawn respecting the length of time which the Apostle passed in Arabia. There may have been an interval of three years between his return to Damascus and his journey to Jerusalem; or the period of three years may have included a sojourn in Arabia and a stay at Damascus. But there is no reason to suppose that the three years were passed solely in Arabia.

ἰστορησάμενος Κηφᾶν,] to make ac-

ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν 19
ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυ-

quaintance with Cephas. Comp. Joseph. B. J. vi. 1. 8. :—οὐκ ἄσημος ὢν ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκείνον ἰστέρησα τὸν πόλεμον.

ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτόν, *I remained with him.*] πρὸς used according to a common confusion of rest and motion. Comp. ii. 5., διαμείνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε.] The object of these words has been already noticed. "At first I did not go to Jerusalem; then, after some years I did, but stayed only a few days, and saw scarcely anybody."

One of the commentators remarks that fifteen days was a long time, quite sufficient for the Apostle to receive the commands of the Church at Jerusalem. He therefore supposes that St. Paul's opponents had falsely averred of him that he had been the disciple of the other Apostles. The general impression of the passage is the best answer to such a criticism. If we suppose a person to say to us, of another, "I knew such a one fifteen years ago, and staid with him a fortnight," we certainly should not presume any great degree of acquaintance.

19. Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου.] Two lines of argument have been taken in reference to these words: First, they are said to show, by the very form of the sentence, that the brother of the Lord must have been the Apostle: "But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James" (comp. 1 Cor. i. 14.), who, if the expression is taken strictly, must therefore be included in the number of the Apostles. A comparison

of Revelation, xxi. 27., Gal. ii. 16., and numerous other passages, shows, however, that εἰ μὴ may be used in the sense not of "save or except," but simply for "but." An ingenious argument has also been urged on the opposite side of the question, to prove that James, the brother of our Lord, was not either the Apostle or the Bishop of that name, but a comparatively unimportant person. The context, it is said, requires the meaning, "I only saw Peter and one other unimportant person;" and that the drift of the passage is lost, if we suppose the Apostle to say, "of the three great heads of the Church, I only saw two." This argument is too finely spun; it is sufficiently answered by observing that James "the brother of the Lord" could never have been an obscure person. It confuses the general drift of the passage with its details. In general the Apostle expresses his own impression, which was, in familiar language, that his visit could scarcely be termed a visit; but in the details he states the actual fact of whom he saw, without reference to the particular effect of the statement.

There are stronger reasons than the one given above for thinking that James the brother of our Lord is the same with James the son of Alphaeus the Apostle; not including in them the words of 1 Cor. xv. 7.:—"He was seen of James, then of all the Apostles," which are equally ambiguous with the present passage. The arguments in

19 Cephas¹, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's

¹ Peter.

proof of this position may be summed up as follows:—

1. The name of "James the less" implying that there were only two and not three of that name.

2. The result of the comparison of the three following passages:—

Mark, xv. 40.:—"There were also women looking on afar off; among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome."

John, xix. 25.:—"There stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene."

Mark, vi. 3.:—"Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon? and are not His sisters here with us?" Comp. Matt. xiii. 55. [where, instead of Joses, Lachmann and Tischendorf read Joseph, which occurs also as a variation in the text of Matt.].

Here, Mary the mother of James and Joses is identified with Mary the wife of Cleophas; and this identification of the two Marys is confirmed by the third passage, which speaks of her sons as the brethren of Jesus.

Lastly, the name Alpheus is the same as Cleophas; being in the Aramaic קלפי, and the two forms arising only out of the different pronunciations of the פ.

A simpler explanation is also possible. Mary the mother of

James the less, and Joses, and Salome, may be the same with Mary the wife of Cleophas; and yet James "the brother of the Lord" not the same with James the less, who was her son, but the son of the Virgin Mary and of Joseph. In favour of this supposition may be urged:—

(1.) The words of Mark, vi. 3., which expressly refer to "the carpenter" and Mary the mother of Christ, and can hardly allude to the sons of another Mary in the same verse.

(2.) The emphatic use of the term "brother of the Lord," which would not have been applied in the sense of a special relation to one who was not a brother. There were many cousins of Christ, but only one who was called his brother. Nor could the designation cousin or kinsman of Christ, even if it were a natural explanation of the word ἀδελφός, have been any claim to extraordinary respect in the early Church.

(3.) The obvious meaning of Matt. i. 25.:—"And knew her not until she had brought forth her firstborn Son," which has been smothered by the feelings of a later age.

(4.) The distinction which is drawn in Acts, i. 13, 14., between the twelve Apostles, who are all mentioned by name, and the brethren of the Lord, who are spoken of separately in the following verse "with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus."

(5.) The testimony of anti-

ρίον. — ἃ δὲ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι οὐ ψεύ- 20
δομαι. — ἔπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς 21
Κιλικίας. ἡμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκ- 22
κλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν χριστῷ, — μόνον δὲ ἀκούον- 23
τες ἦσαν ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτὲ νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν
πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει, — καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν. 24

quity. Even if the term ἀδελφός is sometimes used in a vaguer sense when it is the translation of a Hebrew word (as in Gen. xxxi. 23.), there can be no doubt of the meaning in which it was understood by Josephus (Ant. xx. 9. 1.), or by Hegesippus (quoted by Eusebius, ii. 23., iii. 32., iv. 22.), who expressly mentions James the just as the brother of our Lord “together with the Apostles,” and Simeon, his successor in the episcopate, as the son of Cleophas, his uncle, and the cousin of Christ (ἀνέψιος).

The comparison of Mark, vi. 3., with xv. 40., suggests the improbability of Mary the mother of Christ and Mary the wife of Cleophas each having two sons the same in name, James and Josès, the latter being specially designated by the names of her sons. The force of this objection is, in a great measure, done away by the reading of Lachmann and Tischendorf (Ἰάκωβος, Ἰώσηφος), in the parallel passage of Matt. xiii. 55. (comp. Matt. xxvii. 56.), and the variation of reading (Ἰώση, Ἰωσήτος, Ἰώσηφος) even in the text of Mark, vi. It might be replied, further, that we are otherwise involved in the greater difficulty of supposing that two persons of the same

name were sisters. Such hypotheses or counter hypotheses are not worth drawing out. The natural use of language and the express testimony of the oldest writers are safer grounds of argument than the probability that Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alpheus was sister of Mary the mother of Christ.

20. As in Rom. i. 9., we have an asseveration that at first sight appears out of place; for why should the Apostle assert so strenuously what no one would deny? The answer is, that the words do not refer to the particular statement which has preceded, but to the whole subject of the chapter. It is a matter of life and death to the Apostle to prove his independence of the twelve. Hence he says:—“Now, the things which I write unto you, behold, before God I lie not.” That is, “Though I can have no other witness, I call God to witness that all I am saying is true, in reference to my independence of the other Apostles, and the slight intercourse I had with them.” Compare 1 Thess. ii. 5.; 1 Tim. ii. 17.; 2 Cor. xi. 31.

ὅτι has no regular construction. It depends upon the idea, “I declare,” “I asseverate,” contained in ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

20 brother. Now the things which I write unto you,
 21 behold, before God, I lie not. Afterwards I came into
 22 the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was unknown by
 face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ:
 23 but they had heard only, That he which persecuted us
 in times past now preacheth the faith which once he
 24 destroyed. And they glorified God in me.

21. *Συρίας.*] Comp. Acts, ix. 30. :—"Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea and sent him forth to Tarsus." Comp. also, Acts, xv. 23., whence we gather, that the letter to the Churches, after the conference at Jerusalem, was addressed to the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia.

22. The purport of the remark is again the same as that of the preceding verses, to show the slight connection of the Apostle with the Church at Jerusalem:—"I was personally unknown to the Churches in Judea."

It is urged, that, as the Apostle has just before described his going up to Jerusalem, he cannot mean to say here that he was unknown to the Church at Jerusalem; and, therefore, that *τῆς Ἰουδαίας* must refer to the Churches in the country. This is unnatural. If St. Paul went up privately, *κατ' ἰδίαν*, it might well happen that he was unknown to the Church even at Jerusalem.

Far more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of St. Paul with the narrative of the Acts, in which he is described on his first visit to Jerusalem as led by Barnabas to the Apostles, with

whom he remained, "coming in and going out at Jerusalem," where "he spoke boldly, and disputed against the Grecians" (Acts, ix. 28, 29.), and whence he was sent away in consequence of their attempt on his life. Whereas, in this passage, the Apostle himself declares that he went up to see Peter, and remained but a few days, and knew no one else except James, the brother of the Lord. Further, the author of the Acts is not aware of the sojourn of the Apostle in Arabia, for which he leaves no place in his narrative. Nor is this the only difference; the Epistle is wholly silent respecting a second visit mentioned in Acts, xi. 30.,—an occasion on which the Apostle carried up alms to Jerusalem; also respecting a fourth, of which a brief notice occurs in Acts, xviii. 22, 23. These discrepancies are not diminished by a comparison of the words attributed to the Apostle himself, in Acts, xxii. 18. 21., xxvi. 20.

23. *μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ᾗσαν, only they heard.*] In the change of tense which follows, there is a confusion of the *oratio directa* and *obliqua*.

24. *ἐν ἐμοί,*] for what he had done in my case.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF ST. PAUL'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

THERE are some questions of Biblical criticism on which many volumes have been written, and which have exercised the minds of hundreds, which, nevertheless, are capable of being reduced within narrow limits. On a slender basis of fact, numberless conjectures have been accumulated, which have acquired in time a sort of traditional value, and from being often repeated are at length believed. In such cases, it is possible to set free the original facts from the theories, and combinations, and points of view, to which they have given rise, and, without pretending to add a new superstructure, at any rate to trace the original foundations. Real uncertainties are better than imaginary certainties, and general facts more trustworthy than minute ones, in those fields of history of which we know little.

One of the Scriptural problems to which the above remarks apply is the chronology of St. Paul's life and writings, in which, after endless investigations, hardly any progress has been made. The course of events has been mapped out in thirty different ways (see the table at the end of Wieseler's "*Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters*") ; nor is it likely that all the possible combinations of dates and facts are as yet exhausted. No less than three, if not four, journeys to Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts, have been identified with the celebrated visit mentioned in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians ; eleven different years have been assigned as dates of the Apostle's conversion ; the mention of the vision or revelation in 2 Cor. xii. 1-5., which had taken place fourteen years

before the time at which the Apostle was writing, has been variously referred to his conversion, to the vision in the temple, to some later occasion not elsewhere mentioned ; in all these cases the whole chronology sliding up and down according to the view taken. The critic may well ask himself the question, whether it is worth while to add another guess to those which exist already ; whether it is not wiser to rest within the limits of actual statements, especially as the desire to find or make reconcilements will often disturb certainties. The first consideration, in all such inquiries, is the nature of the materials, whether plentiful or scanty, continuous or fragmentary. No ingenuity in the architect can reconstruct a house of which only a few stones remain ; nor can the historian, by any effort of imagination, supply the elements of knowledge when really wanting. A sanguine temperament will often work out a system, whole and perfect, and seeming in every part to confirm itself ; but such systems are tested by time, — they pass away, and have no permanent influence.

To those who are content with a few certainties and many uncertainties, who do not insist on fixing the date of the Apostle's conversion, who are willing to admit that the series of events recorded in the Acts is not perfectly continuous, the chronology of St. Paul's life is neither a perplexing nor a tedious inquiry. The materials of the inquiry lie in a small compass, being all contained in the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. What may be termed the outer or absolute chronology cannot be determined within two or three years ; for even if it be admitted that St. Paul perished in the Neronian persecution, A. D. 64, it is impossible to say how long he survived the date of the termination of the Acts ; nor is there any statement either of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, 9.) or Tacitus (*Annal.* xii. 54. ; xiii. 14.) which enables us, either directly or by inference, to fix, within three or four years, the date of the deposition of Felix, the brother of Pallas. Other allusions to secular history are still more wide. The time at which Aretas governed in Damascus is wholly unknown to us, and the fact itself recorded only in 2 Cor. xii. 32.

(Compare *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 5.) The edict and the famine which are connected with the name of Claudius (*Acts*, xviii. 2. ; xi. 28.) leave a latitude of thirteen years,—that is, of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41–54,—for they cannot be safely identified, either the one with the edict “*de pellendis Mathematicis*,” mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal.* xii. 52.) under the year 52, or the other with the famine at Rome in the year 51 (*Annal.* xii. 43.). Lastly, the date of the death of Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44 (*Acts*, xii. 23.), although certain, is not precisely coincident with the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, recorded in *Acts*, xi. 30. ; and the journey itself is an isolated point in the ministry of the Apostle. Such is the result of many discussions, which will not be without use if they remind us that it is the life of a private person which we are investigating, whose exploits are not to be found in *Fasti* or *Annals*, whose words and actions have as yet no bearing on the history of mankind.

Leaving these unfruitful inquiries, our business is to fix the order of events in the Apostle’s own life, or rather in that portion of his life which is continuously narrated in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and to connect these events with his writings. It is unlikely that the variation in the absolute time of these events is more than two or three years ; but this is a question which is of no importance to us, and one which we have no means of determining. Enough of the “outer” chronology. What we desire to know is reduced within narrow limits,—the time and succession of the Apostle’s journeys, during about fifteen years of his life, and their relation to his Epistles. The comparison will enable us to arrange the writings of the Apostle in a chronological order, and to trace the growth of his thoughts as the Church spread, as the Gentile world opened before him.

Beginning at the end of the narrative of events, it will be convenient partially to retrace our steps in the chronology of the Epistles. The last ten chapters (xix.–xxviii.) of the *Acts* of the Apostles embrace a continuous period of about nine years, the twenty-eighth chapter concluding with the mention of two whole

years, during which Paul "dwelt in his own hired house, preaching the kingdom of God," at Rome. Why the narrative says nothing of his death, which must have happened shortly afterwards, is a question hard to answer. Perhaps the author of the original memoir wrote in the interval; perhaps he was unacquainted with the manner of the Apostle's end. His omission takes away the possibility of assigning a *terminus ad quem* to the nine years of which he has given a consecutive narrative. Two years, deducted from the whole period, bring us back to the arrival of the Apostle at Rome (xxviii. 16.) in spring; for he had wintered at Melita (xxviii. 1. 11.); having sailed from Cesarea in the autumn of the previous year (xxvii. 2.), shortly after his appearance before Festus and Agrippa (xxv. xxvi.). Two years more are to be reckoned for the imprisonment of the Apostle at Cesarea, after his cause had been first heard by Felix (xxiv. 27.). To Cesarea he had been sent by Claudius Lysias (xxiii. 33.), in consequence of the tumult occasioned by his appearance in the temple on his last visit to Jerusalem. Can we determine the time of his arrival at the latter place? An incidental remark enables us to do so; for he had sailed from Philippi "after the days of unleavened bread" (Acts, xx. 6.), in the hope of arriving at Jerusalem on the Feast of Pentecost (ver. 16.).

Nearly five years out of the nine, from summer to spring, are already accounted for. It does not occur, however, to the author of the Acts to give an exact note of time for the journeys which precede. He only remarks that the Apostle left Ephesus "after the uproar," to go into Macedonia (xx. 1, 2.); that "he went over those parts, and gave much exhortation;" that he "abode three months" (xx. 3.), that is, wintered (1 Cor. xvi. 6.), in Greece, and returned by the way he came. The First Epistle to the Corinthians supplies the deficiency (xvi. 8.); for there the Apostle says that he intends to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost. Thus precisely a year is occupied between Ephesus and Jerusalem. And at Ephesus it is recorded, in the exhortation to the elders of Ephesus at Miletus, that the Apostle had spent three years (xx. 31.), whether inclusive or

exclusive of a journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, and the stay at Antioch which followed, is uncertain. The former alternative has a slight presumption in its favour, from the circumstance that elsewhere (xix. 10.) the Apostle's stay at Ephesus is described as lasting two years only. Supposing this hypothesis to be rejected, a conjectural period must be inserted for the interval between the Apostle's first and second visits to Ephesus. During this period, he made a third visit to Jerusalem, spent some time at Antioch, and went over all the country of Phrygia and Galatia (xviii. 22, 23.).

Nine or ten years are thus accounted for, to which a year and six months have to be added for the first stay in Greece. (Acts, xviii. 11.) To this period of ten or eleven years and a half (say twelve, to allow a few months after the termination of the Acts), all the extant writings of the Apostle are to be referred. And here the continuity of the chronology wholly fails. The sojourn of the Apostle at Corinth had been the termination of a long journey, which commenced at Antioch and extended over the whole of Asia Minor, including Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, and the cities of Macedonia. But there is no period of time assigned either to the journey, or to the stay at Antioch which preceded it. And this is the case with all the previous history. The earlier portion of the Acts is entirely wanting in that chronological minuteness which marks the later chapters, from xviii. onwards. The notes of time which occur are too few, or too indefinite, to be of any real use (vi. 1.; viii. 1.; xi. 26. 28.; xii. 1—3.). Many passages, *e.g.* xii., xiii. 19—30., describe events which are contemporaneous with those which have preceded. From chapters i.—xv. the narrative seems to fall into two compartments,—one before, the other after the appointment of the deacons and the death of Stephen: within these two divisions the arrangement of facts, as in the first three Gospels, is rather collateral than continuous.

It is an order, not a chronology, with which the author or compiler of the Acts has furnished us in his record of the few remaining circumstances of St. Paul's life. Preserving this order, intervals

and periods may be expanded or contracted at pleasure. For example, in the chapter immediately preceding the events last referred to (xv. 35, 36.), it is said, "Paul and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of God. . . . And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city." Here it is clearly stated that the Apostle started from Antioch on his second apostolic journey; but who can say how many weeks, months, or even years, may be included in the words "some days," or "continued in Antioch," the place which, at this period of the Apostle's course, was the centre of his labours, whence he had originally received his more distant mission? (Acts, xiii. 1.; xiv. 26.) The author of the Acts would have spoken clearly had he known; to recover facts of which he was ignorant is not possible.

The sojourn at Antioch, just now mentioned, had immediately followed the famous visit to Jerusalem recorded in Acts xv., or rather, to speak more correctly, the visit to Jerusalem formed a sort of episode in a stay at Antioch of much longer duration. (Compare Acts, xiv. 28.; xv. 35.) For the Apostle had left Antioch and returned to Antioch, and the object of his mission had a special reference to difficulties which had arisen among the Christians in that city. Antioch is further recognised as his head-quarters in the long journey which precedes; there the Apostle returns to give an account of God's dealings with the Gentiles in Cyprus, at Perga in Pamphylia, at Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium, at Derbe, and Lystra. But although many names are mentioned, and the minuteness of the narrative is a strong evidence of its substantial truth, there is no trace of the time which was occupied either in the journey or the stay at Antioch which followed. The period of the Apostle's residence at Antioch may be further extended back to his first arrival there from Tarsus, in company with Barnabas. In these earlier days also, he had visited Jerusalem as the bearer of contributions from the disciples at Antioch, about the time of Herod Agrippa's death (xi. 30.; xii. 1.). His previous abode had been Tarsus, his native

place, whither he had been sent for safety from Jerusalem, on his first return thither (Acts, ix. 29, 30.), after the sojourn at Damascus and in Arabia (Gal. i. 17.), which immediately followed his conversion.

Rome, Cesarea, Ephesus, Corinth, Antioch, Tarsus, Arabia, Damascus, Jerusalem, are the principal seats of the Apostle's life. An interval of a few months is spent on a voyage between Cesarea and Rome; another interval of about a year, between Cesarea and Ephesus, is occupied in the third apostolical journey; there is a third interval, of uncertain length, between the sojourn at Corinth and the settlement of the Apostle at Ephesus; while the long stay at Antioch is broken by two visits to Jerusalem, and two Apostolical journeys. As yet no result has been gained for the chronology but the ten or twelve years, calculated back from the end of the Acts, and passed by the Apostle at Rome, Cesarea, Ephesus, Corinth, or in intermediate travels.¹

We turn to the Epistles of St. Paul to see whether it is possible to find any allusions to the Apostle's former life in which the missing links are supplied. Three notes of time occur. The first is contained in Gal. i. 18.: "Then *after three years* I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days." But "three years" after what? After his conversion or his return to Damascus? Either construction is possible. A similar ambiguity involves the passage which follows (ii. 1.): "Then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took with me Titus." "Fourteen years" after what? After the greater epoch of his conversion or the previously mentioned visit to Jerusalem? It is not certain. The importance and central position of this meeting in the Epistle and

¹ In 2 Cor. xiii. 1., the Apostle says: "This is the third time I am coming to you." There is no other trace of a third journey to Corinth, on the time of which it is therefore idle to speculate. Some have thought that the Apostle is referring to an *intention* only. But the words are express, nor are they contradicted by the term "a second benefit," in 2 Cor. i. 15., where the Apostle is only speaking of the possibility of his taking a different route — Corinth, Macedonia, Corinth, instead of Macedonia, Corinth, Macedonia, which was his actual course.

of the meeting, commonly called the council, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, the similarity of place, persons, subject, circumstances, prove beyond a doubt that the two occasions are identical. (See at the end of ch. ii. note.) But the chronological result is only this — that St. Paul was at Jerusalem fourteen years after his conversion, or fourteen years after some previous visit, which we are unable certainly to identify with any of those recorded in the Acts, and that the interval between his conversion and the visit referred to was a period of not less, perhaps more, than three years.

The third note of time occurs in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 2., and relates to a vision or revelation which he had received “about fourteen years” before (the place is not named), and which was of so remarkable a character, that the Apostle singles it out from the “abundance of revelations” which had been vouchsafed to him in after life, as a subject, even at that distance of time, “whereof to glory.” There is no doubt about the position which the Second Epistle to the Corinthians occupies in our relative chronology. It was written from Macedonia, on what may be termed (though interrupted by a winter) the last journey to Jerusalem, that is to say, about five years before the Apostle’s death. Dating from this point, the period of fourteen years leads us back into an unknown country; to the commencement of the Apostle’s stay at Antioch, or the end of that at Tarsus; to a time too late, certainly, for his conversion; for the other period of fourteen years which occurred in the Epistle to the Galatians, even supposing it to have commenced with that event, must have ended, and therefore begun, five years earlier. And it has been well observed, that the expression, “a man in Christ,” which he applies to himself in the narrative of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, shows that he was already a disciple, and not at that time converted. It may be admitted as a probability that the vision of the Epistle may be identical with the vision of the Temple, which is also alluded to by the Apostle long afterwards. (Acts, xxii. 17.) If so, the following chronological arrangement will arise of a period of twenty years:—

1. Conversion. (Gal. i. 16.)
5. { Departure from Damascus and first visit to Jerusalem. (2
Cor. xi. 32.; Gal. i. 17, 18.)
- { Date of vision. (2 Cor. xii. 1—4.; Acts, xxii. 17—21.)
14. Third visit to Jerusalem, commonly called the council. (Gal. ii. 1.)
20. Date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. (This date is obtained by adding the three years at Ephesus, one and a half at Corinth, and an unknown period, to the fourteen years in Gal. ii. 1.; and by adding three years in Arabia, and an unknown period of two years at Damascus, to the fourteen years in 2 Cor. xii. 1.)

The singular mention of the Apostle's escape from Damascus, in the last verses of the previous chapter, may possibly lead him to speak by association of an event of a wholly dissimilar kind, which occurred about the same time in his life. The reader, however, will observe that the theory has several weak points. First, the difference in the description of the two visions:—

Acts, xxii. 17—21.

“And when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance; and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.”

2 Cor. xii. 1—4.

“It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory: I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth,) such an one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man, (whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth,) how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.”

Secondly, the assumption that the period of fourteen years, mentioned in Gal. ii. 1. is to be calculated from the conversion of the Apostle, and not from the previous journey to Jerusalem; also that the stay of the Apostle in Damascus and Arabia extended to five years. Thirdly, the unknown intervals between the council and the stay at Ephesus. Lastly, the discrepancies between Gal. i. 18—24., Acts, ix. 10—31., xxii. 10—20., touching the first visit to Jerusalem.

Our hope of gaining any precise chronological information from the Epistles respecting the earlier years of the Apostle's ministry has failed; the circumstance that those Epistles were written at a later period of his life is a sufficient explanation of the reason: we have been looking for what it was not very probable that we should find. The later years of the Apostle's life are those with which the author of the Acts was best acquainted; they are also the years respecting which we gain additional light from the Apostle's own writings. The connection between them is, on the whole, very near and intimate. Some discrepancies are observable, but they are the discrepancies of independent authorities; there is no trace anywhere that the letters were made up out of the history, or the history out of the letters. The series begins with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, identified with the second apostolical journey by the mention of Timothy and the sojourn of the Apostle at Athens, after a previous stay at Thessalonica. Next, according to the most probable opinion, at an interval of four or five years, comes the Epistle to the Galatians, which also agrees with the narrative of the Acts in its circumstantial detail of the council at Jerusalem; its place is further defined by the reference to the two visits of the Apostle to Galatia. (Acts, xvi. 6., xviii. 23.; Gal. iv. 13.) Thirdly, at the distance probably of a few months only, follows the First Epistle to the Corinthians, written from Ephesus or its neighbourhood (xvi. 8.), and containing the first intimation of that journey to Jerusalem by way of Macedonia and Corinth, of which the exact particulars are narrated in the Acts. The journey has begun and is going on in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the Epistle to the Romans.

At the time of writing the former, the Apostle has left Ephesus, and is already in Macedonia (2 Cor. ii. 13.; Acts, xx. 1.); the possibility that he might himself go up with the alms to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 4.) has become a fixed design (2 Cor. i. 16. comp. Acts, xix. 21.); contributions are coming in (viii. ix.); the readiness of Macedonia is to be a motive to Achaia; there seems also to be an allusion to the uproar at Ephesus which immediately preceded, and probably hastened, the Apostle's departure. (2 Cor. i. 8.; Acts, xix. 29., xx. 1. 3.) A further stage in the Apostle's progress is marked in the Epistle to the Romans; he is now wintering in Greece, probably at Corinth (Acts, xx. 3.), as he had intended (1 Cor. xvi. 6.); of his place of abode, the names of Gaius, and Phebe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, furnish indications (Rom. xvi. 1. 23.; 1 Cor. i. 14); the contributions of Achaia as well as of Macedonia have been received (Rom. xv. 26.); an intimation occurs of another intention which the Apostle had long entertained, of visiting Rome as well as Jerusalem (i. 15.), and which is also mentioned in the Acts (xix. 21.), a coincidence the more remarkable because the actual visit of the Apostle which is narrated in the Acts arose, not out of any previous design, but from the accidental circumstance of his appealing to Cæsar after two years' imprisonment. (Compare Acts, xxiii. 11.) A few months later, the Apostle is a captive, "the prisoner of Jesus Christ for the Gentiles," and another series of Epistles begins, all of which contain allusions to his imprisonment. That imprisonment is divided between two places, Cesarea and Rome, at both of which the Apostle's friends have free access to him (Acts, xxiv. 23., xxviii. 16. 30.); at either of which he may therefore have preached the Gospel (Eph. vi. 19.; Col. iv. 3, 4.), and begotten Onesimus in his bonds. It might have been at Rome, it might have been at Cesarea, that the Apostle was expecting to receive his freedom at the time when he wrote the Epistle to Philemon (ver. 22.). No note of place or other circumstance enables us to decide whether the twin Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, or the short Epistle to Philemon, which is connected by allusions with the latter, belong to the two first or two

last years of the Apostle's imprisonment—to his imprisonment at Cesarea, that is, or at Rome. The mention of Cesar's household, in the Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 22.), is a sufficient proof that this Epistle was written from Rome. All these later Epistles closely resemble each other, and can all be shown to have been written during a period of imprisonment, while all the earlier Epistles may be also shown, from internal evidence, to belong to a period of the Apostle's life in which he was in the free exercise of his ministry.

Such is the general agreement between the extant Epistles of St. Paul and the narrative of the Acts, and such the double basis upon which they rest who think they trace a growth or development in the Apostle's own teaching and in the circumstances of the churches. There is a time at which the Apostle is looking for the immediate coming of Christ, which is represented by the First Epistle to the Thessalonians; there is a time when he is aware that "the day of the Lord is not yet," but that other events must come first, as he says in the Second Epistle; there is a time when "he has a desire to depart" (Phil. i. 23.), though willing also to stay. There is a time at which the disputes between Jewish and Gentile Christians are lost in the greater difference between Jew and Christian (1 Thess. ii. 14. 17.); there is a time at which the fanaticism of the Jewish Christians is violently aroused, and every Church is divided between Jew and Gentile, circumcision and uncircumcision; there is a time at which the strife no more crosses the path of the Apostle, or, perhaps, is temporarily silenced by his retirement from the scene. There is a time in which St. Paul is in the vigour and fire of youth, "speaking boldly, and disputing against the Grecians;" there is a time at which he is worn by years and imprisonment, "being such an one as Paul the aged." There is a time at which he says, "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. i. 9.); there is a time when "Some preach Christ of envy and strife. What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and he therein rejoices, yea, and will rejoice." (Phil. i. 15-18.)

No use has been made in the previous sketch of the Pastoral Epistles. The reason is, that there is no probable time in the Apostle's life to which they can be assigned; it is hard to reconcile the youth of Timothy with the later years of Paul (1 Tim. i. 3., iv. 12.), or the sojourn of Timothy at Ephesus with the mention of his name in the last journey to Jerusalem (Acts, xx. 4.), and in the salutations of the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon; or the circumstance of Titus being left at Crete (Titus, i. 5.) with his departure from Rome to Dalmatia, in 2 Tim. iv. 10.; or the intended wintering at Nicopolis in Epirus (Tit. iii. 12.) with the full narrative which is given in the Acts, of the last nine years of the Apostle's life. Great stress has also been laid by those who maintain the spuriousness of the three Epistles on differences of style. And many have thought that in the settled form of church government which is implied in the First Epistle to Timothy, and in the Epistle to Titus, and the parallel growth of heresy, they saw an inconsistency with the state and opinions of the first converts in the churches of which St. Paul speaks in his other Epistles.

That the style of portions of these Epistles is very different from that of the earlier ones must be admitted. Yet the difference is not much greater than that which divides the Epistles to the Thessalonians from the Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, Corinthians, or both classes from the Epistles of the imprisonment. A further analogy is observable between the two last-mentioned groups and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, which is favourable or not unfavourable to the genuineness of the latter. It is a striking fact that the Epistles of each class which were written as far as we can judge about the same time, or within a year or two of each other, that is to say, the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, or again, those to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon, have close verbal resemblances to one another; yet as we pass from one class to the other, the verbal resemblances almost entirely disappear. This is true of the Pastoral Epistles also, which may be regarded as forming a third or fourth class in the series of

Pauline Epistles. They have a strong family likeness, but very little resemblance to the earlier Epistles. It is worth considering, whether this similarity is of a kind that a forger would have imitated, or the habitual slightly varying language of the same writer at the same period of his life; whether, too, any other instances can be found of forged writings which stand in the same relation to each other as these Epistles.

That a forger could have attained to the excellence of such passages as 1 Tim. i. 15, 16., 2 Tim. iv. 6. 8., which breathe the very life and spirit of the Apostle (observe especially the words "of whom I am chief;" and the trait of character in the clause "and not to me only"), is hard to conceive; that he would have imagined "the falling away of all them of Asia" (2 Tim. i. 15.), or the minute circumstances mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 13. (the cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus) is very improbable; that he should have caught the loving and affectionate manner of the Apostle (2 Tim. i. 4.), or employed his favourite antitheses (2 Tim. ii. 11-13.), requires a degree of observation and nicety of imitation, not elsewhere traceable in spurious writings. That the style of the Apostle, devoid as he was of literary art, may have received a different colour at different times and places, as new thoughts filled his mind, and were shaped by him in definite forms of expression, is quite natural. That the state of the Church in the year 60-65 at Ephesus or in Crete was inconsistent with the First Epistle to Timothy, or the Epistle to Titus, is more than our slender knowledge of the apostolic age, in which institutions grew rapidly, and opinions were like meteors, will enable us confidently to affirm. Still, there are other difficulties which cannot be disposed of thus. The Pastoral Epistles have no hold on the history; the First Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, about which there are the graver doubts, contain allusions (1 Tim. i. 3.; Tit. iii. 12.) which cannot, without great improbability, be harmonised with the Acts of the Apostles. An early or late date will not prevent the collision. It is not likely that St. Paul can have founded, settled, and intrusted to a deputy

the Church at Ephesus, long before he is recorded to have visited Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles, or that he should have performed a journey into Macedonia during his stay at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3.), of which no particulars are given in the Acts of the Apostles (compare, however, 2 Cor. xiii. 1.); or that he can have returned to Greece, Crete, and the coast of Asia Minor after his imprisonment at Rome. Some objections of chronology are escaped by assigning the three Epistles to different periods of the Apostle's life; but new ones grounded on style appear. Those who feel that these Epistles cannot be wholly genuine, and are convinced that they are not entirely spurious, may have recourse to the theory of interpolation. The relation which exists between the Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter, is a sufficient proof that such interpolation is possible. But it would be vain for criticism to attempt a separation of the genuine and interpolated elements. Only while objections are raised against them, which receive no satisfactory answer, it is safer not to make use of these Epistles for the proof of any fact or the establishment of any doctrine.

ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσό- 2
 λυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβα, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ἀνέβην δὲ 2
 κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ
 κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή
 πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ 3

II. The Apostle proceeds with his narrative, the object of which is to indicate the relation in which he stood to the Twelve on a memorable occasion. This was the occasion of his dispute with the Church at Jerusalem, at which they added nothing to him; he himself bore the brunt of the battle with the Judaizers. He never thought for an instant of giving way; and at last "the pillars of the Church," who had stood aloof from the controversy, agreed to leave him to himself. They would sanction, but not share his mission to the Gentiles.

On another occasion, when Peter came to Antioch, he showed the same independent spirit, boldly charging the Apostle with inconsistency, when, acting under the influence of the Church at Jerusalem, he refused to eat with the Gentiles. He gives what may be termed a dramatic sketch of his answer to Peter, which soon expands into an answer to the Galatian Church, which he more directly attacks at the beginning of the third chapter. Comp. Rom. ii. 1—17.

1. ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, *then fourteen years.*] That is, fourteen years after the great epoch of his conversion, or fourteen years after his previous journey. For the question whether this occasion is the same as that of Acts xv. see note at the end of the chapter. Either the

Apostle omits (perhaps as irrelevant to his object), or the author of the Acts inserts, another journey, in which Paul and Barnabas are mentioned as carrying up alms to Jerusalem about the time of Herod Agrippa's death, A.D. 44. Acts, xi. 30., xii. 25.

μετὰ Βαρνάβα, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον, *with Barnabas.*] Therefore, before the separation of Paul and Barnabas. Titus is mentioned to prepare the way for what follows. Comp. Acts, xv. 2:—"Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them."

2. κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, *by revelation.*] Compare note on i. 12.; also Acts, xvi. 8:—"They essayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus (so Lachmann) suffered them not;" also Acts, xix. 21. The Apostle means, that he went up, not because he was sent for, but because it was revealed to him that he should go. The reader of Plato is involuntarily reminded of the δαιμόνιον σήμειον of Socrates, which in the same way gave intimations respecting his "going out and coming in."

ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς.] St. Paul speaks of the Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, and laid before the Apostles as a separate Gospel, as below, ver. 7. εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροθυσίας. Compare Rom. ii. 16., xvi. 25.; 2 Tim. ii. 8. κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.

κατ' ἰδίαν, 'privately,' as in

- 2 Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also.
 2 And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by
 3 any means I should run, or had run, in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was

Matt. xiv. 23., and numerous other passages.

τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, to them of reputation,] is used absolutely, as sometimes in classical Greek, "to the men of influence, reputation." There is a degree of irony in the application of the term to the Apostles, who, as St. Paul is about to describe, added nothing to what he had told them. The irony is heightened by the altered form of expression in ver. 6., *οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι*, but is lost again in the new turn given to it at ver. 9., *οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι*, the last words marking that he truly recognised the dignity of the other Apostles as heads of the Church at Jerusalem. Compare, as illustrative of the feeling, 2 Cor. xi. 5., xii. 11.—*οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι*.

μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain.] St. Paul went up to lay the dispute about circumcision before the Church at Jerusalem. He went up by revelation, and yet thought it necessary to feel his way with the heads of the Church, fearing "lest he should run in vain." What was the fear which he intended to convey in these words, and which led him to this private course of procedure? did it arise from distrust of them, or of himself? could there have been a time

when he had not felt so sure as he afterwards became that he was right about circumcision? On this view he would be telling us in the present passage, that he had once been diffident and desirous to confirm his own judgement by that of the Twelve. And he was strengthened in his opinion, not by what the other Apostles told him, but by his finding that they had nothing to tell him. It seems, however, inconsistent with the context, and with the temper of the Apostle himself, that on such a subject he should admit the possibility of error, or peril the freedom of the Gentile converts on the judgement of the Apostles at Jerusalem. But it is quite consistent with his conduct on other occasions (Acts, xxi. 26.), and very natural that he should act with prudence towards a Church where there were so "many thousand Jews which believed, and they all zealous for the law." He might well hope for union and fear separation, even though separation could never shake his belief in what he surely knew. Anxiety was a part of his natural temperament: everywhere he seems like one feeling the effect of his words; and on such an occasion there would be many reasons for it, one amongst them being the slightness of his acquaintance

Ἑλλην ὧν ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισ- 4
 άκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι

with the other Apostles. It seems better, therefore, to consider the meaning of the passage in a general way:—"I spoke privately first to a few of the leaders, lest my business should miscarry." *τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*, lest my past or present labours should be in vain. *ἔδραμον* may either refer generally to his Apostolic mission or to the journey to Jerusalem which he had just accomplished; it is possible also that it may be a mere grammatical correction, as the past tense *ἀνεθέμην* has preceded. *τρέχω* may be either indicative or subjunctive.

3—5. *οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν.*] A various reading occurs in verse 5., which will most conveniently be considered in this place, as it affects the meaning of the passage which precedes. The words *οἷς οὐδέ* are omitted on the authority of Irenæus, who quotes the verse without them (iii. 13.), and of Tertullian, who affirms them to be a "vitiatio Scripturæ," rather, however, on the ground of their inconsistency with the context than of their omission in copies of his own time. (*Adv. Mar.* v. 3.) Jerome and others further testify to their absence in Latin manuscripts of their day. They are also wanting in at least one uncial manuscript.

To the passage read without them, two interpretations may be given, either:—"But Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was circumcised, though not by compulsion, but the fact was that, on account of the false brethren who crept in unawares to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus, we gave way for a season in the

subjection which we showed them, that the truth of the Gospel might remain (not for a season only) with you the Gentile Christians;" or ver. 4. and 5. may be contrasted with ver. 3.—"We did not circumcise Titus; but we gave way for a season because of the false brethren, not weakly to compromise the truth of the Gospel, but to preserve it to you." It is an objection to this latter way of taking the passage, that the Apostle does not state the nature of the concession.

As it is certain that copies existed in the second and third centuries in which the words *οὐδέ* or *οἷς οὐδέ* were omitted, the question of the reading cannot be absolutely determined by the weight of MS. authority which is in favour of their insertion. On the one hand, it may be urged that the omission has arisen from the desire to improve the structure of the sentence, which is thus rendered more regular; perhaps, also, the example of Timothy may have led to the inference that the Apostle would have done in one case as he did in the other, and that Titus was circumcised as Timothy was circumcised; a meaning which is more easily obtained if the words *οἷς οὐδέ* are omitted. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to maintain the opposite thesis, that the insertion of the words is improbable, because it runs counter to the general tone and spirit of the passage. The feeling which makes us unwilling to believe that St. Paul yielded a question of principle at a critical moment, would have prevented

4 compelled to be circumcised: but* because of the false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to

Fathers and early transcribers from altering the text in such a manner as to render this interpretation of the Apostle's acts possible. And, therefore, it may be argued that the reading which raises the suspicion is probably not the altered but the genuine one. So the canon "difficilioris lectionis" may be arrayed on either side. Nor will any other argument place either reading beyond doubt.

Was Titus circumcised or not? That is an inquiry the answer to which is not wholly dependent on the variety of the text. For, supposing οὐδέ or οἷς οὐδέ to be retained, still, by laying the emphasis on ἡναγκάσθη, the sentence may be read in such a manner as to admit the fact that Titus was circumcised:—"Titus, who was with me, was circumcised, though not of compulsion; but I and the other Apostles thought it better that this should be done to prevent the false brethren from going about and saying that we had men uncircumcised among us, not that we gave way to them for an instant in the submission that we showed or that they claimed" (τῇ ὑποταγῇ). The fact was as the opponents of St. Paul stated, but nothing was thereby decided respecting the necessity of circumcision, the question at issue in the Galatian Church.

Such is a possible train of thought in the Apostle's mind, whichever reading we adopt. And the form of the sentence, in which Titus is the principal subject, is in favour of this mode of interpretation:—"Titus was circumcised, though not of com-

pulsion," is a more natural explanation of the words οὐδὲ Τίτος ἡναγκάσθη περιμεθεῖναι, than "Titus was not circumcised, though they sought to compel him." That the Apostle was charged with preaching circumcision (v. 11.) is implied by himself; nor is it impossible that the example of Titus may have been brought forward by teachers of the circumcision; in which case the words "Ἐλλην ὦν may have formed a part of their statement. It is the profession of the Apostle himself, that "to the Jews he became a Jew;" an expression which accords with his conduct in taking upon himself a Nazarene's vow on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem. Again, the circumcision of Timothy is nearly, if not quite, parallel with that of Titus; for Timothy was the son of a Greek father, and had not been circumcised in infancy; nor was it intended by St. Paul that he should work in any special field of labour among Jewish Christians. Of him, too, it might have been said with equal truth, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τιμόθεος "Ἐλλην ὦν ἡναγκάσθη περιμεθεῖναι. And the reason given in the Acts of the Apostles for the circumcision of Timothy is equally applicable to the case of Titus: "Because of the Jews that were in those parts." The time is also observable:—soon after the meeting of the Apostles, which renders the circumcision of Timothy as remarkable a circumstance as the circumcision of Titus at the meeting itself. Lastly, the obscurity of the passage may be thought to arise out

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν¹, οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, 5 ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι (ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν, οὐδέν μοι 6

¹ καταδουλώσονται.

of the difficulty that the Apostle felt in defending himself against the true charge that he had waived the question of circumcision in the case of Titus.

The point, however unessential in itself, is of interest as bearing on the character of the Apostle. The reasons already given, though strong, are not conclusive, as they have to be weighed against other reasons, the chief of which is the context of the passage. Is language such as that of ver. 4. and 5. reconcilable with the supposition of an act which is really a contradiction of it? that is the question:—"We gave way to the false brethren, no, not for an hour, except in reference to that which was the chief matter in dispute." The Apostle was not in the temper of accommodation at the meeting at Jerusalem; it was not the time to be all things to all men, nor the time to tell the Galatians if he had been so. For his whole object is to show how little he yielded to the Jewish Christians, and how independently of the Twelve he maintained his cause. It is only a conjecture, that he has mentioned the case of Titus because the false teachers had brought it forward against him; and, otherwise, there would be no reason for his naming it himself. Why should he of his own accord introduce the mention of a concession which would make him seem inconsistent with himself? How ill these these two state-

ments agree together, "I admit that I yielded in the case of Titus," and "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing." There is also a degree of weakness in the words, "Ἑλλήν ὢν and ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, upon the supposition that Titus was circumcised. It is good sense to say:—"For Titus being a Greek was not circumcised, &c., that the truth of the Gospel might remain unto you Gentiles;" but the point is lost if we turn the sentence:—"For Titus being a Greek was not circumcised by compulsion; but merely as a matter of prudence, that the truth of the Gospel to the Gentiles might continue."

So many points may be pleaded on either side of the question in dispute, it is not necessary, or indeed possible, to arrive at any certain conclusion. The drift of the argument appeared to Tertullian to involve the circumcision of Titus; to us the opposite inference seems, on the whole, most likely to be the truth.

In the previous verse the Apostle had said:—"I laid the dispute respecting circumcision before the heads of the Church, lest my business should miscarry." Now he adds:—"But notwithstanding this apparent concession, we did not give up the rights of the Gentiles so far as to allow Titus to be circumcised;" though, as is implied in

spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that
 5 they might bring us into bondage:—to whom we gave
 place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth
 6 of the gospel might continue with you. But of those
 who seemed to be somewhat, — (whatsoever they were, it

the word *ἡναγκάσθη*, there was an attempt to compel this. So far is intelligible; the difficulty is, what to do with the succeeding clauses. That the two verses which follow are an anacoluthon, is obvious. There are two ways in which the wanting thought may be supplied:—either, (1.) we may suppose the words, *διὰ δὲ τοῦς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους*, to be connected with *ἡναγκάσθη*, as though the idea in the Apostle's mind were,—“yet because of the false brethren there was compulsion;” or, (2.) these words may contain the reason why, as he tells us in ver. 5., he refused to yield for an instant. This latter meaning would be naturally expressed without the anacoluthon, by the omission of *οἷς*, which in this case may, probably, have been added on account of the length of the sentence, like the *ὃς* in the doxology at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. Altogether, three ideas seem to be struggling for expression in these ambiguous clauses:—(1.) Titus was not circumcised; (2.) though an attempt was made by the false brethren to compel him; (3.) which as a matter of principle we thought it so much the more our duty to resist. The ambiguity has arisen from the double connection in which the clause *διὰ τοῦς παρεισακτοῦς ψευδαδέλφους* stands, (1.) to *ἡναγκάσθη* which precedes, and (2.) to *οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἵξαμεν* which follow.

4. *οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον, who came*

in sideways.] Comp. *παρεισάκτους* before.

κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, to spy out our liberty.] It is not likely that the “false brethren,” any more than the “false apostles” (2 Cor. xi. 13.), were only Jews. Except as professing Christians, there could have been no reason for their admission to the assemblies of the believers. That Jews and Christians must have passed into each other by insensible gradations, is obvious from such passages as the discourse of James to Paul, in Acts xxi. 17., as well as from the narratives of Hege-sippus and Josephus respecting James himself. The object of the false brethren was to spy out whether Paul and Barnabas conformed to the law, or not; what Paul calls their liberty in Christ Jesus.

5. *οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν.*] To whom we gave place no not for an hour, or (*δὲ* simply adversative) to whom neither did we give place for a season: compare the use of *οὐδέ* in ver. 3.

εἵξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ.] Either, “we yielded in the subjection which they claimed;” or, supposing Titus to have been circumcised, “in the subjection which we showed.”

ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, the truth of the Gospel.] That is, the Gospel as St. Paul preached it in its freedom, of faith and not of works.

διαμείνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς,] may re-

διαφέρει· πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει) ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον 7 ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς (ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς 8 ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ μοι εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσάν μοι Ἰάκωβος καὶ 9 Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς [μὲν¹] εἰς

¹ Om. μέν.

main with you Gentiles: partly opposed to πρὸς ὥραν.

6. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, *but of those who seemed.*] This sentence is interrupted by a parenthesis. We may suppose the Apostle intended to finish it thus:—"But of those who seemed to be somewhat, I received nothing." οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι, "who seemed to be somewhat;" "who gave the impression of being the chief men."

ὁποιοί ποτε ἦσαν.] Some degree of feeling is indicated in these words, as in the similar expression, v. 10., ὅστις ἂν ᾔ. and 2 Cor. xi. 5., οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀποστολοί. The Apostle is afraid lest the expression οἱ δοκοῦντες may be interpreted to mean that he gave way to their authority; he therefore hastens to add, that they were as he was in the sight of God; he will not speak of them slightly, but he wishes it to be remembered that God is no respecter of persons (comp. Rom. ii. 11.; 1 Cor. iv. 3.), and that as a fact, whatever their dignity and authority might be, those great men left him to himself. The parenthesis is the correction of the clause with which the verse began; and the words, ἐμοὶ γάρ, &c., with which the anacoluthon is resumed, supply a kind of ground for the words in the

parenthesis. He might seem to depreciate the other Apostles in the words ὁποιοί ποτε ἦσαν, and he gives his reason for it:—"For they added nothing to me." It is probable that γάρ has a further retrospective meaning, going back to ver. 5.:—"I acted boldly, for others did not act."

προσανέθεντο,] communicated nothing to me in addition to what I communicated to them: comp. ἀνεθέμην, ver. 2., and μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν in ver. 10.; or more simply, as in the English version, "added nothing to me."

7. ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, *but contrariwise.*] In what does this opposition consist? Apparently in this, that instead of strengthening the hands of Paul, they left him to fight his own battle. They said, "Take your own course; preach the Gospel of the uncircumcision to Gentiles, and we will preach the Gospel of the circumcision to Jews."

It is remarkable that in this passage St. Paul speaks, not only of preaching to Jews and Gentiles, but in yet stronger language of a different Gospel of the circumcision and uncircumcision (comp. ver. 2.). St. Peter is described in a way that harmonises with the pre-eminence assigned to him in the Gospels.

maketh no matter to me: God accepteth not* man's person:) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter, (for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same wrought* effectually in me toward the Gentiles :) and when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go

He is the leader of the Jewish, as St. Paul of the Gentile Christians. Yet it may be observed also, that some of the companions of St. Paul during his imprisonment are described as οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, Col. iv. 11.; on the other hand see Tit. i. 10.

8. In 1 Cor. ix. 2. the Apostle Paul appeals to his doing the work of an Apostle as a proof of his Apostleship; he here describes the same fact as producing its natural impression on the Twelve. They saw him to be in another sphere what Peter was among themselves.

ὁ ἐνεργήσας,] like ὁ καλέσας, refers to God; comp. above ἀφορίσας. In Col. i. 29. St. Paul speaks of this Divine operation working in him as τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν [τοῦ Θεοῦ] τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν δυνάμει. Also comp. 1 Cor. xii. 6.:—καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

9. James, Cephas, and John.] Some MSS. read Peter and James and John; a variation which has probably arisen from the habit of assigning the primacy to Peter, or from the natural affinity of the

names James and John, the sons of Zebedee, to the eye and mind of the copyist. James may be mentioned first, as the leader of the Judaizing party: see below ver. 12. The order of the names as they are found in the best MS. is of itself a proof that James, the son of Zebedee, who is everywhere immediately coupled with his brother, is not here meant, and is therefore an incidental confirmation of the narrative of his death in the Acts; it has also some bearing on the question of the occasion, as on the second journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. (Acts, xi. 30., xii. 25.) James, the brother of John, was probably alive.

οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, who seemed to be pillars.] The word δοκοῦντες is a resumption of τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, and δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι, in ver. 2. and 6. For στῦλοι, comp. Rev. iii. 12.—στῦλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ. It was a common Jewish figure, applied to teachers of the law. Schoettgen, i. 728, 729.

ἵνα... περιτομήν, that... circumcision.] How is this division of labour to be understood? Not if we may judge from the Acts,

τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν, μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα 10
 μνημονεύωμεν· ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ὅτε 11
 δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς¹ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ

¹ Πέτρος.

as though it were intended that Paul should confine himself to the Gentiles, and Peter to the circumcision; for in every place Paul first preached to the Jews, and in nearly every place the Judaizers followed in his track. It may mean either that St. Paul was not "to intrude on other men's labours;" or that one Gospel was to be preached to the Gentiles, leaving open the question of circumcision, and another to the Jews, enforcing or encouraging the practice. The sense in which the agreement was made may have been determined, either by the character of the Church, whether composed chiefly of Jewish or heathen Christians; or by its situation, whether in Palestine or elsewhere, or by the Gospel having been preached at a particular place by St. Paul, or by one of the Twelve. That, independently of his own labours, St. Paul found the faith of Christ growing up around him, and the preaching of others coming into contact with his own, is implied in Rom. xv. 20.; 2 Cor. x. 13. We can hardly suppose that, in the fluctuating state of the Church, the agreement could have been strictly acted upon, especially in Churches like Antioch and Corinth, in which both parties must have met.

10. *μόνον . . . ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, only they would that we should remember.*] For the use of ἵνα in requests, compare 2 Cor. viii. 7. The poor are "the poor saints of Jerusalem," Rom. xv. 26.,

who appear to have been a frequent object of charity with the Churches among which the Apostle preached.

It is a presumption of the still unbroken unity of the Church, that the Jewish Christians were willing to receive, or the Gentiles to give alms. This presumption is further strengthened by the manner in which the obligation to contribute is viewed, both in the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, Rom. xv. 27.: "They thought it good, and their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have participated with them in their spiritual things, they ought also to participate with them in temporal things." Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 1., ix. 1.

Two collections for the Church at Jerusalem are mentioned; the first (Acts, xi. 29.), that which was carried up on St. Paul's second journey from Antioch; the second, the collection in Macedonia and Achaia, which he brought with him on his last visit to Jerusalem, in the contributions to which the Galatians had themselves a share (1 Cor. xvi. 1.).

αὐτὸ τοῦτο] implies that it was the very thing which, even independent of the agreement, he desired, and intended to do.

11—21. The conduct of Peter is not easy to understand. Already, at the council or concordat of the Apostles, he had agreed to impose no burdens on the Gentile Christians: and, at a much earlier period in the history of the Apostles, he had not only been

10 unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only
 they would that we should remember the poor; the same
 11 which I also was forward to do. But when Cephas¹ was
 come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because

¹ Peter.

charged with going in unto men uncircumcised, and eating with them, but had taught others "that they were to call nothing common or unclean." And now, not of his own free will, but under the influence of certain who came from Jerusalem, from a fear of the very same charge, "thou wentest in unto men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them," he held back, and seemed to view his Christian brethren with the feelings with which he would have regarded men who sat at meat in an idol's temple. It is remarkable, and may be considered as a proof of the truth of the history, that his conduct, however unintelligible, is in keeping with Peter's character. We recognise in it the lineaments of him who confessed Christ first, and first denied him; who began by refusing that Christ should wash his feet, and then said, "not my feet only, but my hands and my head;" who cut off the ear of the servant of the High Priest, when they came to take Jesus, and then forsook him and fled. Boldness and timidity, first boldness, then timidity, were the characteristics of his nature. It was natural for such a one, though no longer strictly a Jew himself, to desire that others should conform to the prejudices of Jews; such conduct agreed with the bent of his own mind, though he formally disowned it. There

is, we may observe, in many men, a sort of tenderness to what they once were themselves; as there is another class of men who learn a lesson, but only to apply it under given circumstances. Something of this kind there may have been in St. Peter; a narrowness of perception, or secret sympathy with the Judaizing converts, which prevented his seeing the wider truth which presented itself to St. Paul. At any rate, his was a disposition on which ancient habits and feelings were ever liable to return; whose heart could scarcely avoid lingering around the weak and beggarly elements of the law; on whom in age the lessons of youth were too prone to come back, "carrying him whither he would not." The charge which St. Paul brings against him was, inconsistency with himself; he was half a Gentile, and wanted to make the Gentiles altogether Jews. So, in chap. vi. of the Galatians, ver. 13., he says of the Judaizing teachers—"For neither do they that have been circumcised keep the law;" in other words, even the Judaizers are inconsistent with themselves; they too charged on him (chap. v. 11.) that he still preached circumcision.

11. ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν, κ.τ.λ., *but when Cephas, &c.*] The place here alluded to is Antioch in Syria, whither the Apostles Saul and Barnabas returned after the meet-

ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλθειν 12
 τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ
 ἦλθον, ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν, φοβούμενος τοὺς
 ἐκ περιτομῆς, καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ 13
 Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑπο-
 κρίσει. ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν 14
 ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ ἔμπροσθεν πάν-
 των Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχ Ἰουδαϊκῶς
 ζῆς, πῶς¹ τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν;

Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί. 15

¹ τι.

ing at Jerusalem. We have no means of knowing on what occasion or at what time the dispute here alluded to took place. St. Paul was at Antioch with Barnabas, immediately after the council, and (probably by himself) at the close of his second Apostolical journey.

ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν, *because he was condemned,*] not as in the English version, "because he was to be blamed;" nor "because he was condemned," in the sense of "condemned by the agreement of the Apostles, or by public opinion, or by his own conscience," a mode of explaining the word which supplies more than the laws of language will allow; but generally "condemned," in the sense of "was in the wrong;" the participle, as in the case of *παρὰλελυμένος*, and other words, passing into an adjective.

12. The obvious meaning of this verse is, that Peter acted under the influence of certain that came from James. In most controversies the followers are less scrupulous than the leaders; in this case it is impossible for us to determine what was the degree

of these persons' connection with the brother of the Lord, or how far they were responsible for the conduct of the Galatian teachers. The words, however, imply that they were actually sent by James. It must be remembered that in Acts xxi. 18. James advises Paul to propitiate "the multitude zealous for the law," by performing a vow in the temple. His conduct on the present occasion, whether reconcilable or not with what is related of him in Acts xv., is perfectly in accordance with the narrative just alluded to, as well as with the ecclesiastical tradition respecting him.

The attempts of Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theophylact, to show that the dispute between Peter and Paul was either a preconcerted controversy for the edification of believers, or that Cephas here mentioned was some obscure disciple, and not the Apostle, are not without interest, as illustrating the history of the interpretation of Scripture.

συνήσθιεν.] The eating together among the Jews, as in the East at the present day, was a sign of close communion and fellowship.

12 he* was condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come he withdrew and separated himself, 13 fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dis- 14 simulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how¹ compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?

15 We who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of

¹ Why.

We can well imagine the feelings of aversion that would have to be subdued before men of a different race or religion could be induced to eat at the same table. This was not, however, Peter's case; he had once eaten with the Gentiles, and could not now hold it a matter of principle, or even of feeling, to abstain from doing so. Timidity, or the undue influence of others, was the cause of his conduct. Hence St. Paul charges him with "hypocrisy," that is, with having implied an objection which he did not really feel, or which his previous custom did not justify.

Besides the antagonism in which this passage represents the two great Apostles, it throws an important light on the history of the Apostolic Church in the following respects:—(1.) As exhibiting Peter's relation to James, and his fear of those who were of the circumcision, whose leader we should have naturally supposed him to have been. (2.) Also, as

portraying the state of indecision in which all, except St. Paul, even including Barnabas, were in reference to the observance of the Jewish law.

14. *πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.*] In reference to the truth of the Gospel; that is, as above, ver. 5., the truth of the Gospel which I preach among you, not of works, but of faith.

ἐμπροσθεν πάντων.] I spake openly to them, though they were all against me, and remonstrated with Peter:—

Why do you, who are yourself only half a Jew, seek to make the Gentiles Jews? Or, why do you, who have hitherto been eating with Gentiles, now withdraw yourself to constrain them to conform?

ἀναγκάζεις, compellest.] That is to say, of Peter, his principle logically involved this, or his influence and example would be likely to effect it.

15—21. These words are the substance of a conversation be-

εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν 16
 μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς χριστὸν
 Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως χριστοῦ
 καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθή-
 σεται πᾶσα σὰρξ. εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν χριστῷ 17
 εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἅρα χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας
 διάκονος. μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσα, ταῦτα πάλιν 18
 οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἐμμαντὸν συνιστάνω.¹ ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ 19

¹ συνίστημι.

tween the two Apostles, of which one side only is narrated, and which soon passes off into the general subject of the Epistle. Verse 14. is the answer of St. Paul to Peter; what follows is more like the Apostle musing or arguing with himself, with an indirect reference to the Galatians. Compare John iii., where the discourses of Christ with Nicodemus, and of John the Baptist, appear in the same way to mingle imperceptibly with the thoughts of the Evangelist; also Rom. iii. 1—8.; 1 Cor. xi. 25.

15. Ἠμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, *We are Jews by nature.*] St. Paul, as already remarked, is not in these words literally answering Peter, but putting himself in the position of one who was answering:—"We," he says, "who are not, according to our favourite phrase, sinners of the Gentiles, but natural-born Jews." Compare the common expression, *τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί*, Matt. ix. 10, 11.; also Rom. ix. 30.—*ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην.*

For the construction we may supply *ἔσμεν*, or carry on the thought to *ἐπιστεύσαμεν*. According to the first explanation, we may translate as follows:—"We are Jews by birth, and not sin-

ners of the Gentiles; still we know that it is by faith a man is justified, and not by works of the law." At verse 16. a quotation is introduced from Psalm cxliii. 2. (which occurs again in Rom. iii. 20.); here the transition seems to be already made from the conversation with Peter to the general argument. The ellipse is somewhat harsh, and may be avoided by adopting the other construction, which gives more point to the words, *καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί*. "We, who are not sinners of the Gentiles, and therefore, of course, needing redemption, but born Jews, the natural heirs of the kingdom of God; knowing, however (δέ), that for the Jew as well as the Gentile, the way is not by works, but by faith,—we too, I say, have believed on Christ that we may be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law, for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified."

The verses that follow are extremely obscure. The connection seems to require that the Apostle should say something which has a bearing on Peter's inconsistency. We Jews, he has said, are justified by Christ, and not by the law. You think he is

- 16 the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. But if, while we seek to be justified in Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, then is Christ the minister of sin. God forbid.
- 18 For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor. For I through the law

going to drive the argument home by adding: "But we are not justified by Christ, if we conform to the law;" or in his own words, "Behold, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." This is what we expect him to say, and what he does say, though wrapt in obscurity from the peculiar view implied here, and more explicitly drawn out in the Epistle to the Romans, of the relation of sin and the law.

17—20. But if seeking to be justified in Christ, we, too, are found sinners as well as the Gentiles; that is, in other words, if we too fall back under the power of the law, Christ becomes the cause of this; we make Him the minister of that law which is the strength of sin," which "reviving, we die." Not so, it were absurd to think it. It is we, not he, who are the ministers of sin; we make ourselves transgressors by imposing upon ourselves a law which makes us transgress. We build up what we pulled down. The law was but the negation of itself, the means to its own extinction, and the creation of a new life in us. But now the law

that was dead is made alive again.

Had the thought of the law being death been placed first, there would have been no difficulty in understanding the Apostle's meaning, which clears up as we proceed. He is speaking from his own point of view, not from ours, or from that of his opponents. He cannot imagine any justified by works, without falling under the power of sin. "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin," as he says in the Romans. And when men are in this sinful condition, was it Christ that brought them to it? Not Christ, but what they have added to Christ; for where there is no law, there is no transgression.

18. If I return "to the weak and beggarly elements," if I reconstruct the edifice which I pulled down, I put myself within the sphere of transgression, I make myself a sinner by going to the law.

19. Three explanations are given of this verse:—(1.) "I, through the law in a higher sense, became dead to the law in a lower;" or, "I, through the law of the Spirit of life, became dead

νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω. χριστῷ συνεσταύ- 20
ρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ χριστός· ὁ δὲ νῦν
ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χριστοῦ τοῦ

to the law of Moses" (comp. 1 Cor. ix. 21.:—*μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐννομος χριστοῦ*); an interpretation which requires the word "law" to be taken in two different senses in the same passage, and of which it is no justification to say that in different passages the word *νόμος*, when helped by the connection, may bear either. No one could imagine that the sentence, "I through the law to the law am dead," if translated out of or into any language, would admit of the word "law" being taken in different senses.

(2.) The words may be taken as signifying—"the law itself has taught me to disregard the law;" the law itself was the schoolmaster to bring me to Christ, saying the same things respecting faith and forgiveness of sins. Such a way of explaining the passage would be confirmed by other places in which St. Paul seeks to base justification by faith on the words of the law. Yet it is inadequate to the expression he here uses, which is far stronger: not, "I by the words of the law was taught that the words of the law were of no authority;" but, "I through the law was dead to the law."

(3.) It seems better to take the word *νόμος* in this passage, not for a written book, but for that power over the heart and conscience of which the Apostle speaks in the Romans, where he says:—"When the law came, sin revived, and I died." First let

us consider the words *διὰ νόμου ἀπέθανον*, "I through the law was dead that I may live." The law had wrought in me the infinite consciousness of sin, and the sense that, do what I would, the fulfilment of its requirements was impossible. It was a state of death, but of death unto life. Now, the Apostle adds to this thought, "through the law I died unto the law, that I may live unto God." (Compare the parallelism in Rom. vi. 10., "in that he died he died unto sin once, but in that he liveth he liveth unto God.") In this second relation *ἀπέθανον* is used in a different sense. For as before it denoted the highest state of discord, the "paralysis of our moral nature," here in reference to *νόμῳ* it rather denotes insensibility to the law which has no more power over a dead man.

It has been objected to the above explanation that too much use is made in it of the Epistle to the Romans, and especially that it supposes the doctrine of the seventh chapter of the Romans to have been everywhere and at all times present to the mind of the Apostle. That it was present in writing this passage, is, I think, shown by the expression, "I through the law was dead to the law," which is more abrupt and epigrammatical than the language of the Epistle to the Romans, yet, in substance, the same. When the Apostle says, "the law came and sin revived, and I died," and goes on to trace the

20 am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God,

course of this death, paralysing the soul, which at last, in its agony, casts aside the burden too heavy to be borne, is not this an expansion, or dramatic illustration, of the words just quoted?

The truth of an interpretation is sometimes tested by a comparison with other interpretations. What other interpretations of this passage are possible? First, here as in Rom. vi. the Apostle may be answering antinomian objections, and with this the general tone of the passage agrees, the fatal flaw being the want of connection with Peter's speech; or, secondly, verse 17. may be paraphrased as follows:—"If we believers in Christ maintain obedience to the law, and at the same time transgress it, is Christ the cause of this? No, not Christ, but ourselves." But here, though the sense of the words, *ἐνρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί*, be easier, the connection with ver. 19, 20. again breaks down.

ἵνα θεῶ ζήσω.] He carries on the figure of a "living death." Himself and his sins are like the body of death, but within that crucified body Christ lives, as on the cross. (Comp. Rom. vi. vii.)

20. As in the Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle speaks of the old man as crucified with Christ, so here, adopting the same image, he says, "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless, I live." Death and life, equally represent the believer's state,—death unto

life, or in life, as the phrase may be turned with equal truth.

The words which follow afford a good example of the manner in which the language of identity, or communion with Christ, passes into that of substitution. First, we are said to die or live with Christ. Then the phrase receives a further development;—not only we live or die with Christ, but Christ lives or dies in us.—First, we are one with Christ, and then Christ is put in our place. So far we are using the same language with the Apostle. At the next stage a difference appears. We begin with figures of speech—sacrifice, ransom, lamb of God; and go on with logical determinations—finite, infinite, satisfaction, necessity in the nature of things. St. Paul also begins with figures of speech—life, death, the flesh; but passes on to the inward experience of the life of faith, and the consciousness of Christ dwelling in us.

ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί.] Not as explained by some interpreters, "my present life in the Jews' religion, under this temporal dispensation of the law;" but more generally, "my present life in this world, I live in faith on the Son of God." Comp. 2 Cor. v. 6. 7.—"We walk by faith and not by sight." *ὅ*, "whereas," or "what," in apposition with the sentence: "as to what I now live."

This clause is not a limitation of what had gone before, but rather

ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. οὐκ 21
ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη,
ἄρα χριστὸς δωρεάν ἀπέθανεν.

a realisation of it, as it is a recognition of his present imperfect state. He had said before:—"I am crucified with Christ; yet it is not I that live, but Christ that liveth in me." This is the language of one who is no longer an

inhabitant of this world. But as in the Romans, he speaks of those who are justified by faith, and have the first-fruits of the Spirit, as groaning within themselves, "waiting for the redemption of the body," so here, the remem-

21 who loved me, and gave himself for me. I do not frustrate the grace of God ; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.

brance comes back to him of his earthly and dependent being :—
“But the life I now live, so far as it is to be called life in this evil state, I live by faith in him who has done all things for me.”

21. I do not make void the grace of God, as I should do if I conformed to the law ; for if there were righteousness by the law, Christ's death would have been of no use.

THE reasons for supposing the meeting of St. Paul with the Apostles at Jerusalem, mentioned in chap. ii., to be the same with that commonly called the Council, Acts xv., are briefly the following:—

- i. The date of the meeting mentioned in Gal. ii. 1., which, whether we suppose it to have taken place fourteen or seventeen years after the conversion of St. Paul, agrees with the limits of time which the indefinite chronology of the Acts allows us to assign to the Council, but not with any other visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem; that is, neither with the earlier visit (commonly termed the second), the circumstances of which are narrated in Acts xi. 30., xii. 25., and the date of which appears nearly to coincide with the death of Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44, and is therefore previous to the Apostle's first missionary journey, and prior also to his success in preaching the Gospel as Apostle of the Gentiles (compare Gal. ii. 8.); nor with the visit, of which a very brief mention is preserved in Acts xviii. 22., commonly called the fourth, which occurred about three or four years later, after the separation of Paul and Barnabas, and is unattended with any of the persons or occurrences mentioned in the Epistle; nor obviously with the last visit, which led to the uproar in the Temple, and the imprisonment of the Apostle for two years at Cesarea, and for two years afterwards at Rome.
- ii. The impossibility, on other grounds, of placing the Council either before or after the meeting of the Apostles in the Galatians: before,—because St. Paul, in the enumeration of his journeys, would not have omitted the one which bore most directly on the question in dispute; after,—for the same

reason, which equally applies, unless we suppose the Council to have taken place after the Epistle was written, that is, towards the end of the Apostle's stay at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 19., xix. 41., which, again, is wholly irreconcilable with the order of the Acts. It is to be observed also that the reference made by James, in Acts xxi. 25., is to the event commonly called the Council, in Acts xv., and is inconsistent with any similar event having taken place later.

iii. The improbability of a repetition of an event, in which so many of the circumstances are the same:—*e.g.*

- (1.) Place in which the dispute originated.—Probably, Antioch. Comp. Acts xv. 1.; Gal. ii. 11.
- (2.) Subject.—Circumcision of the Gentiles.
- (3.) Persons.—Paul, Barnabas, certain others, Acts xv. 2., —among whom, probably, Titus, who is nowhere mentioned in the Acts,—James, Cephas.
- (4.) Occasion.—“Men which came down from Judæa, and taught the brethren,” which has a degree of parallel with those who “came from James to Antioch,” in Gal. ii. 12.

iv. These similarities cannot be set aside by the supposed discrepancies, which are:—

- (1.) The publicity of the Council, compared with Gal. ii. 2., *κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς ἑκοῦσι*.
- (2.) The unbroken image of harmony presented by the narrative of the Acts, contrasted with the tone of Gal. ii. 2—6.
- (3.) The subordinate position of the Apostle St. Paul in the narrative of the Acts, and the prominent one of James and Peter, who are the chief expounders of the freedom of the Gospel, compared with their relations as described in Gal. ii. 6.
- (4.) The difference between the final resolution in the Acts, which is embodied in a formal decree of the

Church at Jerusalem, passed at a council by the advice of James, which decree Paul and Barnabas distribute among the other Churches, and the mere agreement or arrangement, described in the Epistle as taking place between Paul and Barnabas on the one side, as Apostles of the Gentiles, and James, Cephas, and John, as Apostles of the circumcision, on the other.

It cannot be denied that these discrepancies are important; yet, in reference to their bearing on our present argument, it must be remembered that they are of a kind which would be likely to arise in two authorities so different as the letter of the Apostle himself and the narrative of a subsequent date, which casts the veil of time over a dispute which had passed away, and which perhaps attributes to an earlier age the forms of proceeding and modes of speech which existed somewhat later.

The discrepancies which appear elsewhere between the Epistles of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles tend to impair the force of any argument from difference in the two accounts, while they leave the force of the argument from coincidences undiminished.

CHAPTERS III. IV.

THE Apostle has concluded his narrative, and the argument to which it gave birth. His thoughts return to the Galatians, whom he once more addresses with the same vehement emotion as at i. 6—10. He schools them, like children; he appeals to their experience; he bids them remember the hour of their conversion. Did they mean to invert the order of grace?—beginning with what was inward, to end with what was outward; in the spirit once, and now in the flesh? Those influences of which they had been the subject; those great effects which they had witnessed—did they spring from works of the law, or from the hearing of faith? As elsewhere, the word “faith” awakens a new strain of argument in the Apostle’s mind, which, dropping his previous emotion, he pursues to the end of the chapter. This argument is based on the words of Genesis:—“Abraham had faith in God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.” Like the parallel discourse on the same theme in the Epistle to the Romans (ch. iv.), it may be divided into two parts: in the first (1.) of which Abraham, the father of the faithful, is identified with his children, and the faith of both contrasted with the works of the law, as blessing is to cursing in the language of the law itself—from which curse of the law, Christ, by becoming a curse (as the law also taught), has made a way of escape, that the blessing of Abraham might reach the Gentiles; the second (2.) division of the argument (which commences with ver. 15.), taking occasion from the words “unto thy seed,” which the Apostle, in passing, refers to Christ, and dwelling specially on the time at which

the promise was made (430 years before the law), thereby showing the mediate, subordinate, intercalary character of the latter.

The feeling which marked the opening of the Epistle, and the address to the Galatians, reappears again at the ninth verse of the fourth chapter. The bearing of the previous passage had been to show that the state of those under the law was a kind of pupilage or slavery, from which Christ had redeemed us by being himself "born under the law," as, in a nearly similar way of speaking, it was said, at ver. 13. of the previous chapter, that he had "redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us." Of this truth of redemption from the law, the Apostle proceeds to make a practical application to the Galatians themselves, contrasting their half heathen, half Jewish superstitions with the liberty of the sons of God. Then, for an instant, he pauses to speak of his personal relation to them. He was touched by the thought of their ancient love for him, especially when he remembered his own infirmities which, instead of being an object of disgust to them, seemed almost to transfigure him into the likeness of Christ Jesus. But how had this passed away ! He will not accuse them of a wrong to himself (though he can find no other reason for their change of feeling, but his own plain speaking); he will only beg of them to be at one with him again. He then briefly glances at the false teachers, their reception of whom he seems to attribute to a sort of ignorance of the world, and as if words out of the law must be better rhetoric to them than any that he could employ, once more harping on the instance of Abraham, he repeats the story of Isaac and Ishmael, the child of promise, and the child born after the flesh, and arguing in a manner more convincing and intelligible to his own age than to ours, as above from the letter of the text, so here from the connection between Hagar and the land in which the law was given, he concludes, as he began, the chapter by associating the idea of bondage with the law.

ᾧ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν¹, οἷς κατ' ὄφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς προεγράφη² ἑσταυρωμένος; τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε, ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε; ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελείσθε; τοσαῦτα

¹ Add τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι.

² Add ἐν ὑμῖν.

III. From the statement of facts, the Apostle proceeded, at the close of the last chapter, to a brief summary of the doctrine which he preached, and now passes on to make a personal appeal to his Galatian converts. In the 6th verse he returns to the doctrine, which is confirmed, as in the Romans, by the case of Abraham, and deduced by various arguments from the Old Testament Scriptures. From the 17th verse to the end of the previous chapter, he has been covertly arguing with the Galatians (comp. Rom. ii. 1—17.). In the 20th verse, his feelings warm, as he describes the hidden life of Christ in the soul; the fire kindles with the remembrance, that the Galatian converts had seen and known the same things, and had had Christ crucified evidently set before them, until, at last, he bursts forth upon them with the words:—"O senseless Galatians! who hath bewitched you who had such lively experience of the truth which now with such levity ye throw aside? Of whom it might be said that ye saw Christ with your own eyes. This only I inquire, was it by faith or works that you were originally converted?"

1. τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν; *who hath bewitched you?*] βασκαίνω, derived from βάζω, βάσκω (compare *furi fascino*), in its original meaning signified "to charm with

words:" it is often applied to the influence of the evil eye. Here, however, the general sense (as commonly in the decline of language, in which more precise meanings of words are apt to be lost) is the safer one, not "who hath bewitched by his gaze you who had once looked upon Christ," but simply "who hath bewitched or cast a spell upon you," without any opposition to κατ' ὄφθαλμούς.

[The words τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι are omitted in most of the older manuscripts, as well as by all recent editors, and have probably crept in from ver. 7. (Comp. Rom. viii. 1. 4.)]

οἷς κατ' ὄφθαλμούς, *before, &c.*] "Before whose eyes Christ crucified, as in a picture, was set." For an instance of the same pictorial language comp. 2 Cor. iii. 18.:—τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα.

[ἐν ὑμῖν is omitted by A. B. C., and in the late editions. If retained, it may be taken:—(1.) with προεγράφη, and is then an emphatic repetition of οἷς; or, (2.) with ἑσταυρωμένος, in the latter case better in the sense of "in you" than "among you," in the same way that at ch. ii. ver. 20. it was said ζῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ χριστός.]

προεγράφη, not "written down beforehand," or "written down openly" (which, whether referred to the prophecies or the Epistles of St. Paul, is wanting

- 3 O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you¹, before
 whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth
 2 crucified among you? This only would I learn of you,
 Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by
 3 the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? having begun
 in the spirit are ye now made perfect by the flesh?

¹ Add that ye should not obey the truth.

in point), but “pictured openly;” *πρό* being used of place, and not of time, and *γράφειν* in the sense of “to paint.” No other instance occurs of the word *προγράφειν* in this signification, which is, nevertheless, required by the association of *κατ’ ὀφθαλμούς* and *ἐσταυρωμένος*, and is in some degree supported by the analogy of *προλέγω* (Thuc. i. 139.), of *προέθετο* (Rom. iii. 25.), and of *προγράφειν* itself, in the sense of “to write publicly.” The difficulty is not, however, to prove that *πρό*, in composition, means “openly,” or *γράφειν* “to paint,” but to explain how the compound word *προγράφειν* has received the meaning of the two simple ones. May not the Apostle have employed the word, as, perhaps, *προηγέσθαι* in Rom. xii. 10., in an etymological sense? It is a sound canon of criticism, that where the style and use of words are irregular, as in the New Testament, more weight should be given to the context, and less to precedent and authority.

2. Let me ask you one question: I will put the matter to one test, Was it of works or of faith that you received the Spirit?

What does St. Paul mean by receiving the Spirit? not merely a moral change or renewal of the heart, but that sudden conversion which is described in the Acts of the Apostles as “the Holy Ghost falling upon them,

as upon us at the beginning.” He appeals to the Galatians on the ground which he felt to be the foundation of his own faith—inward experience, dating from that period “when he saw the Lord.” (1 Cor. ix. 1.)

ἐσταυρωμένος] has an echo of *συνεσταύρωμαι* in ii. 20. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 23., ii. 2.

ἀκοῇ πίστεως.] The first act of faith whereby a man became a Christian, was bound up with the word of the preacher:—“So, then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” (Rom. x. 17.) Hearing is to faith what works are to the law: “if by hearing (to apply one of the Apostle’s formulas), then no more of works.” The contrast is of faith as a receptive power, drinking in the Spirit of the Gospel; and the law as a constraining power, compelling outward acts.

ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι.] Taking up the words of the two previous verses, *ἀνόητοι, πνεῦμα*, as his manner is, the Apostle adds:—“Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now ending in the flesh?” The opposition is not between holiness and uncleanness, or good and evil generally; but between the Gospel and the law. *σάρξ* is used in a figure as the symbol of what is outward and visible; also as the seat of the desires which the law stirs into sinful action. (Rom. vii. 7, 8.) It is applied to the Mosaic dispensation: (1.) in

ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ; εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ. ὁ οὖν ἐπιχόρηγών ὑμῖν τὸ 5
 πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ
 ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, 6
 καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι 7
 οἱ ἐκ πίστεως οὗτοι¹ υἱοὶ εἰσιν Ἀβραάμ. προῖδούσα δὲ 8
 ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, προευη-
 γελίστατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ 9
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν 9
 τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσίν, 10
 ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν. γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι² ἐπικατάρατος

¹ εἰσιν υἱοί.² Om. ὅτι.

the general sense of "external;" (2.) as propagated by fleshly descent; (3.) as sealed by the mark of circumcision in the flesh.

4. τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ;] (1.) "Did ye suffer all those persecutions in vain?" or, (2.) "Had you all those experiences in vain?" The latter is more agreeable to the context and to the general spirit of St. Paul's teaching, as well as to the few facts which we know about the Galatian Church, in which probably as yet no persecution had occurred. Even were this otherwise, it is unlike the noble style of the Apostle to say:—"Have you thrown away the fruits of all those persecutions?" The Apostle adds a qualification:—εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ, "Have you had all these experiences in vain? if, indeed, which I cannot bear to think, it be in vain;" not "if it be only and not worse than in vain," which gives a good sense, but is not expressed in the words.

5. In remembrance of the time of your conversion, I say then again, He who supplied you the Spirit, and wrought miracles in you—did he work by the deeds of the law or by the hearing of faith?

ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν.] "The worker of miraculous powers in you;" that is, who gave you or made you the subjects of miraculous powers (*i.e.* God). Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 28. for the meaning; and for the construction of ἐν, Phil. ii. 13.,—θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλει καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν.

The Apostle is still referring to the time of their conversion, as is shown by the repetition of the word πνεῦμα, from ver. 2, 3., and the use of οὖν. Past time must therefore be supplied. The present participle may be either taken as an imperfect or as a substantive: "He who was giving," or "the giver."

From this verse onward, commencing at εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ, the Apostle changes his tone, and reasons with the Galatians, instead of rebuking them. A similar change occurs at iv. 21.

6. "It was with you," or, "Was it not with you even as with Abraham, who had faith in God, and it was counted to him for righteousness?" The Apostle returns to the "locus classicus" in the Old Testament, on which he founded his doctrine.

7. The inference is, that they

4 have ye suffered so many things in vain? if indeed* it
 5 be in vain. He therefore that gave* to you the Spirit,
 and wrought* miracles in* you, did* he it by the
 6 works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Even
 as Abraham had* faith in God, and it was accounted to
 7 him for righteousness. Know ye therefore that they
 which are of faith, the same are the children of Abra-
 8 ham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would
 justify the heathen through faith, preached before the
 Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations
 9 be blessed. So then they which be of faith are blessed
 10 with the* faithful Abraham. For as many as are of
 the works of the law are under the curse: for it is

which are of faith, these I say, and not the others, are the sons of Abraham.

What the nation was in the Old, the family is in the New Testament. Family relations are the types through which spiritual ones are shadowed forth in the Gospel. The sons of Abraham are no more the Jewish nation (Comp. Matt. iii. 9.), but faithful souls everywhere, of whom God is the Father. (Compare vi. 10.; Eph. ii. 19.)

8, 9. As in 1 Cor. ix. 8, 9, 10., a providential intention is attributed to the words of the Old Testament. Compare Rom. iv. 3., *τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει*; as here speaking of Abraham.

8. *προϊδοῦσα δέ.*] *δέ* is slightly adversative: "but what the Scripture meant (though it may not appear at first sight) is the salvation of the Gentiles through faith." The words of the quotation, as they occur in the LXX. (Gen. xii. 3.), are *εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς*,—*πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* being introduced from the repetition of the same promise in Gen. xviii. 18. The

promise to Abraham is interpreted by the Apostle as a declaration of the Gospel of the Gentiles. *ἐν σοὶ* means "in thee;"—that is, "in thee as their type," or "in thy faith." In the original passage it has the sense, "by thee;"—that is, the form of their blessing shall be, by thy name. "The Lord bless thee, as He blessed Abraham and his descendants." *ἔθνη* has also received a change of meaning, referring in Genesis to the nations of the world in general; but here (compare ver. 14.) confined by St. Paul to the heathen, who are to be saved by faith. The general meaning is as follows:—"It was not a mere accident that it was said, In thee shall all the Gentiles be blessed: but because Abraham was justified by faith, as the Gentiles were to be justified by faith."

9, 10. So then, the faithful are blessed with the father of the faithful (a reduplication of verse 7.). For when the term "blessing" is used, it cannot refer to those who are under the law, and therefore under a

πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ 11 οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' 12 ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ¹ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. χριστὸς ἡμᾶς 13 ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ

¹ ἄνθρωπος.

curse; the law cannot be meant, for the law itself denounces this curse against all who disobey it. γάρ, as in Rom. i. 18., implies an argument, ἐξ ἐναντίου:—They of faith are blessed, for they under the law are cursed.

ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὅς.] These words are quoted from Deut. xxvii. 26., with a slight verbal alteration from the LXX. The word πᾶσι is omitted in the Hebrew text. In some way or other a curse comes upon those who disobey the law. Is this for their imperfect obedience, or because it was impossible that they should obey at all? If we adopt the first interpretation, that every man was under the curse, because none could perfectly obey the law; yet, on the other hand, it may be urged, that an imperfect obedience would tend to mitigate the curse. The law could not be opposed to the Gospel, as the curse to the blessing, were it only a defective good. There is no trace in St. Paul of the belief that all human virtue was equally defective, and equally fell short of the Divine requirement.

That is a modern view which has been held by some extreme Protestants, as Roman Catholics, on the other hand, have sometimes maintained, that the life of the believer is only a more per-

fect fulfilment of the law. Both these views belong to a later stage of theology. The Apostle knows only of faith as the opposite of the law—as the negative of the law. If one blesses, the other curses; if one saves, the other destroys. There is no middle term or way of communication between them. The second of the two interpretations is, therefore, the true one. St. Paul does not mean that men partially fulfilled the law, but that they could not fulfil it at all. Like the notion of fate or necessity, it did but produce “a fearful looking for of judgment;” as the Apostle says in Rom. iv. 15:—“The law worketh wrath.”

11. And as before we proved negatively, that no man could be justified by the law, because no man could fulfil the commandments of the law, so now we prove the same thing positively, because there is another way appointed whereby men are to have life,—the way of faith. As the prophet Habakkuk says—“The just shall live by faith.”

12. δέ is adversative to the suppressed thought suggested by the previous verse, that it was possible to abide in all things written in the book of the law. For the question, whether in the quotation (from Habak. ii. 4.) the words ἐκ πίστεως are to be taken

written, that every one is cursed¹ who continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law
 11 to do them. But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall
 12 live by faith. But* the law is not of faith: but he²
 13 that doeth them shall live in them. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a

¹ Cursed is every one.² The man.

with *ὁ δίκαιος*, or with *ζήσεται*, see on Rom. i. 17.

But the law uses a different language:—"He that doeth the commandments shall live in them." Lev. xviii. 5.; repeated in Neh. ix. 29., and quoted in Rom. x. 5.

Thus far, the Apostle has carried out the antithesis of the law and faith. With the faith of Abraham went a blessing; with the law a curse, by the confession of the law itself. The one said, "The just shall live by faith;" the other, "He shall live who does all that is written in the book of the law." The curse was endured by Christ, that it might not be endured by us; (the law itself, in saying "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," justifies this statement;) the final purpose being, that the blessing of Abraham might reach the Gentiles, and that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

13. *χριστὸς...κατὰρα.*] The particular expression, "Christ became a curse for us who were under the curse of the law," may be best considered as a particular instance of a class. In the Scriptural doctrine of the atonement, the believer is one with Christ, until at length Christ takes the believer's place, and all

that the Christian is, and all that he was or might have been, are transferred to Christ. Thus any new point of view in which the sin, or misery, or infirmity of man is regarded, belongs not to man, but to Christ, as the first-born among many brethren, partaking of the common infirmity of human nature. The most extreme example of this is in the Gospels, where the miracles by which Christ healed the sick are considered as a transfer of our infirmities to himself. Matt. viii. 17. In the same figurative mode of speech, Christ freeing us from the curse of the law, is said to be made a curse for us.

χριστὸς ἡμῶς ἐξηγόρασεν.] A further proof that we cannot be justified by the law is, that the curse of the law is what Christ redeemed us from. We were like captives, and Christ paid the penalty for us.

When the Apostle speaks of "us," is he referring to the Jew only, or also to the Gentile? Primarily, to the Jew; in a degree also to the Gentile. By the same act the burden is taken off the Jew, and a way is laid open to the Gentile. But the same figure is not equally applicable to both. The Gentile too has a rule of nature, and a conscience accusing or excusing himself; but he can

ἡμῶν κατάρρα, ὅτι γέγραπται¹ Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ¹⁴ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

¹ γέγραπται γάρ.

hardly be described as subject to ordinances, or tempted by the law to sin. He has no lively sense of responsibility; he is not distracted by any spiritual conflict. The general conception of his previous state is rather expressed by the words:—"Ye were carried away by dumb idols, even as ye were led." Whether there was any degree of truth in these idolatries,—whether in any respects they were akin to the Jewish ceremonial law,—was a question which would never have occurred to the thoughts of the Apostle. To him it was a "mystery kept secret from the foundation of the world" that the Gentile was to have the Gospel revealed to him. The law is the only "schoolmaster to bring men to Christ," and the Jew alone is subject to it. Of a single prior dispensation of Judaism and heathenism, such as philosophical writers in modern times have sometimes imagined, there is no trace in the Epistles.

It is true, however, that the Apostle often places Jew and Gentile side by side, and easily passes from one to the other. From his ideal point of view the distinction seems to vanish. The figurative language in which he describes one is readily transferred to the other. As in Rom. i. ii., the same eye of the soul is turned upon both. As in Rom. iii. 19., he places the Gentile within the sphere of the law, that he may

condemn him by the words of the law. As in Rom. iv. the distinction of Jew and Gentile is lost in the common designation of children of the faith of Abraham. Hence, though in ver. 13. he uses the words "redeemed us from the curse of the law," which are only applicable to Jews, he passes on in the latter clause of ver. 14. to include in one both Jew and Gentile. The Jew was a captive, and Christ called him into the liberty of the sons of God. The Gentile is a partaker of the same heritage.

But how, it may be asked, was this effected by "Christ being a curse for us?" To answer this question we must distinguish between the spirit and the letter, the inward meaning and the figure of the Jewish law.

(1.) The inward meaning is that Christ's teaching and life and death drew men to him, until they were taken out of themselves, and in all their thoughts and actions became one with Him.

(2.) That His life seemed naturally to bring upon Him the penalty of the Jewish law:—"We have a law, and by our law he ought to die."

(3.) That at the same time that his death was a fulfilment of the law, it was also the end of the law. He endured the law and did away with the law at once.

(4.) Mankind, contrasting the image of his life, and the requirement of the law, feel that they

14 curse for us; forasmuch¹ as it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

¹ For.

are placed above the law, and so escape with him from its burden.

To the figure must be assigned the notion of a ransom or sacrifice, by which, as by the victim on the altar, God is satisfied or pleased.

ἐπικατάρατος, *cursed*.] The Apostle again confirms his view by a passage from the Old Testament, which is cited from the LXX. with a slight verbal difference, St. Paul reading ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς, instead of κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς, Deut. xxi. 23. In its original connection it refers to the body of the criminal, which was not to be left hanging after the evening, lest the earth should be polluted by the corse. This St. Paul transfers to Christ. The abhorred death of the cross, which the Romans inflicted on their slaves, recalled to his mind the curse of the Jewish law.

It may, on the other hand, be urged, that the curse in the book of the law does not refer to the mere accidental circumstance of hanging on a tree, but to the crime which was the occasion of it. But in that mixed moral and ceremonial dispensation this is not certain; and, even if it were, all we can do in this and similar passages is to trace the figure in the Apostle's mind, without attempting to reduce it to our previous notions of the meaning of the Old Testament. Compare Acts, v. 30., "Whom ye slew and

hanged on a tree;" Acts, x. 39., "Whom they slew and hanged on a tree;" 1 Peter, ii. 24., "Who himself bore our sins, in his own body, on a tree;" where the same thought of the curse resting on every one who was hanged on a tree seems to pass before the writer's mind.

14. ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.] Christ did away the law, and so left free passage for the blessing of Abraham through faith to extend, not to the Jews only, but to all mankind. These words have an immediate reference to what was said above, ver. 7., that they that are of faith are the sons of Abraham, and that in him all nations of the earth shall be blessed.

ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβομεν, *that we might receive, &c.*] The Apostle returns from the Gentile to the Jew, or rather, as at ver. 13., under the first person covertly includes both. The object of Christ's redeeming men from the curse of the law was twofold:—(1.) that the Gentiles might be accepted; and (2.) that Jews, as well as Gentiles, might be justified by faith. These two, however, are not opposed; in this passage the first is looked upon as the condition of the latter. Not only was it the design of the Gospel that the Jews should be justified by faith, that the Gentiles might be admitted; but conversely, that the Gentiles should

Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κε- 15
κυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. τῷ
δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, καὶ τῷ σπέρματι
αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, 16
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἐνὸς Καὶ τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὃς ἐστὶν χρι-

be admitted that the Jews might be justified by faith. Compare Rom. xi. This is, however, veiled by the use of the plural *λάβωμεν*, an ambiguity which we are the more justified in assuming here, as a similar one occurs in two other passages where the same subject is treated of, Rom. iv. 12, xv. 8, 9.: compare also, Rom. iii. 19, 20.; Gal. iv. 24.

15. Ἀδελφοί, *Brethren.*] The Apostle continues to soften his tone.

κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω, *I speak after the manner of men.*] The expression is used with various shades of meaning; sometimes, as in Rom. iii. 5., as a sort of apology for some supposition about Divine things; sometimes, in the sense of "It is I who say, and not the Lord;" sometimes simply "I speak after the manner of men," or "I use a human figure." To which may be added, in this passage, the notion of what we should term an *à fortiori* argument from human to Divine things: "I speak as a man; if this is true in human things, how much more in Divine?"

ὅμως implies an opposition to the Divine covenant of which he is about to speak. "I speak as a man; yet in the case of a human covenant, when it has been confirmed it holds that no one sets it aside or adds to it."

κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην.] Comp. Heb. vi. 16, 17.:—"For men verily swear by the greater, and an

oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife. Wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath."

διαθήκην,] either covenant or testament. The Gospel may be said to be (1.) a testament in reference to the death of Christ, who bequeathed it to us as a legacy, as in the argument in Heb. ix. 17., "where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator;" or, (2.) a covenant, in contrast with the law, and in accordance with the analogy of the covenants made with the patriarchs, as in this passage, and in Heb. viii. 7., and elsewhere.

ἐπιδιατάσσεται] is intended to indicate that the law was not, as the Jew might have said, an addition to the covenant, for there could be no addition to it.

A general view of the passage that follows will assist in the explanation of the several verses. As in the Romans, the Apostle has quoted the case of Abraham, who was justified by faith, and received also the universal promise that "in him all nations of the earth should be blessed." This is a figure of the Gospel dispensation, or rather it is the very Gospel which Paul preached among the Gentiles. Two thousand years have passed away, and the meaning of the promise to Abraham is just coming to light.

- 15 Brethren, I speak after the manner of men ; Though
it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man
disannulleth, or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and
16 his seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to
seeds, as of many ; but as of one, and to thy seed, which

But here the thought arises in the Apostle's mind—"There has been a long interval ; the law came between." To answer this objection, as at the commencement of the seventh chapter of the Romans, he brings forward an illustration:—"Human covenants are binding for ever ; you cannot alter them, or add to them. How much more the covenant of Him with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years?" But the Jew would reply, the covenant was but the beginning of the law, as we might say in a figure, the angel who talked with Abraham was lost in the brightness of Mount Sinai. It is this point of view that the Apostle seeks to invert. According to him the covenant was to remain, the law to pass away. In the very words in which the covenant was given, "not unto seeds, as of many, but as of one," was contained an intimation that it referred to Christ. It was in force 430 years. Can we suppose that it was superseded by the law? Rather the law and the promise are opposed to each other, as the law and faith, and it was through the promise that God gave the gift to Abraham. Then what shall we say of the law? It was an accident, an interpolation, an addition, designed not to do men good, but to make them conscious of evil, and in every thing show-

ing its transitory and inferior nature. Is it then opposed to the promises? Not so. It had right, if it had had might ; it had the idea of righteousness, if it had had the power to give life. But it was a law of condemnation only, the import of which to us is that it made us capable of the promise. While it lasted we were shut up, as it were, in prison, waiting for the coming revelation. "So that the law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ;" and was itself done away when Christ came.

16. τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι.] Now to Abraham who, as we say, was justified by faith, the promises were made. Observe, that in making the promise he uses the singular number. "For in Isaac shall thy seed be called." [It is to this passage (Gen. xxi. 12., which is also quoted in Rom. iv. 7. and Heb. xi. 18.) the Apostle is probably referring.] Is this a mere accident? or saith he it not rather for our sakes, meaning Christ?

δὲ, which is repeated in ver. 17., as the Apostle draws nearer to the point of his argument, is adversative to what has preceded:—"Human covenants are irreversible ; but the case which I am about to put is of a Divine covenant," which the Apostle proceeds to explain, and loses the antithesis in the length of the narrative.

The argument which follows

στός. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω. διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ 17
 θεοῦ¹ ὁ μετὰ τετρακόσια² καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονὼς
 νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.
 εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας· 18
 τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός. τί 19

¹ Add εἰς χριστόν.² μετὰ ἑτη τετρακ.

reminds us that St. Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, interpreting the Scriptures after the manner of his time. Instances of a similar mode of interpretation occur in Gal. iv. 25.; 1 Cor. ix. 9., x. 4.; 2 Cor. iii. 13. The difficulty in this place, according to our notions, is how the word "seed" can be applied to Christ as an individual, when it is obviously a collective noun, meaning the posterity of Abraham. To assign a similar collective sense to the name of Christ would be an additional violence to language, as well as a distortion of the meaning of the Apostle. Christ is not the same as His Church, however close may be the connection between them. Comp. Heb. ii. 11. Better to admit that the Apostle's mode of applying the Old Testament is unlike our own.

The argument is thrown in by the way, and breaks the connection of ver. 15. and 17. It has a bearing, however, on the Apostle's main object, which is to prove the identity of the Gospel and the promise, and the inferior nature of the law.

17. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, and *this I say.*] In these words St. Paul returns to the proof, which he commenced in ver. 15.

μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, *four hundred and thirty*

years after.] The law, which was given so long after, could not do away with the promise.

There is a well-known chronological difficulty in these words, connected with a similar chronological difficulty in the Old Testament, respecting the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. In the books of Genesis and Exodus the period of 430 years (Ex. xii. 40.), or in round numbers, 400 years (Gen. xv. 13., quoted in the Acts, vii. 6.), is assigned, not to the interval between the promise to Abraham, and the giving of the law; but to the actual sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt. [Exod. xii. 40.: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years." Gen xv. 13.: "And he said, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years: and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance."] It is found on examination of the genealogies, however, that in some lines, as, for example that of Moses himself, the whole time of 400 years comprises only three generations; and hence it has been argued, that the call of Abraham is the true limit of the period in question; and laborious calcula-

- 17 is Christ. And this I say;* the covenant that was confirmed before of God¹ the law which was four hundred and thirty years after cannot disannul, that it
 18 should make the promise of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but
 19 God gave it to Abraham by promise. Wherefore then

¹ Add in Christ.

tions have been entered into to show that, in the course of two centuries, the children of Israel might possibly have increased from Jacob and his sons to several hundred thousands.

If these and similar difficulties could be removed, we should only have escaped an inaccuracy in the New Testament, by introducing a contradiction into the Old. That St. Paul is not quoting from any independent tradition is plain from his giving the exact number of Exodus, xii. 40. It is also clear, that in the narrative of Exodus this number refers to the actual time of servitude, and not to the interval between the promise and the law. But the Apostle has so applied it. He takes 430, the years of servitude mentioned in the Old Testament, for a period longer than 430 years,—that is, for the whole time from Abraham to Moses.

18. *εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία.*] The law cannot have superseded the covenant; for, if it had, the inheritance would cease to be attached to the promise (for the promise and the law exclude each other); but it was through the promise that God gave it to Abraham.

St. Paul refuses to look upon the law as a further fulfilment of the promise. *That* is not his

point of view. He regards the law and the promise as opposed, just as the law and the Gospel; or rather, the promise being through faith, he regards the Gospel as identical with the promise. Compare *suprà*, the word *προεναγγέλισατο*, ver. 8. The promise is a *προεναγγέλιον*.

19. The first impression on reading this verse is, that the Apostle meant to say that the law was added to restrain men from transgressions, in the interval of time between the promise and the coming of Christ. According to this view, the law would be regarded as the principle of order in the world, designed to keep men from utterly corrupting themselves, and giving them a moral preparation for the revelation which was to follow. Such a view may be thought to derive confirmation from ver. 24: "The law was our school-master to bring us to Christ;" it agrees with our own ideas of the purposes of law in general, and of the relation of the Mosaic law to the Gospel (comp. Heb. vii. 19.) in particular. Yet the words themselves are indefinite, and the comparison of other passages in the Epistles, such as Rom. vii. 7-25., iii. 20., iv. 15., v. 20.; 1 Cor. xv. 56., would lead us to expect a different tone of thought respecting the law. On

οὖν ὁ νόμος ; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελλται, διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου· ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ 20

this, above all other subjects, it is necessary to remember the axiom, "*non nisi ex ipso Paulo Paulum potes interpretari.*" And the characteristic mode of thought and speech in the passages just referred to would incline us to suppose that the Apostle's meaning probably was, not that the law was added to restrain transgressions ; but that the law was added to produce transgressions, or at least to give men that consciousness of sin which makes sin to be what it is, "for where there is no law there is no transgression," and "the strength of sin is the law." The law, it must be remembered, is not with St. Paul an element or principle of good ; but an abstract good. It is not the law of the land which punishes crime ; but an ideal law, the very characteristic of which is, that it cannot be realised in action. It would attribute too much power to the law to suppose that it could restrain men from sin. Then it would not be far from "a law that might give life." "By the deeds of the law," as the Apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans, "shall no flesh be justified, *for* by the law is the knowledge of sin." In other words justification is the very opposite of that knowledge of sin which is by the law. In the language of the Epistle to the Romans (v. 20.), it might be said that the law was added to the covenant "that transgression might abound;" the other side of this doctrine being given in the latter part of the same verse,

"that grace might yet more abound."

One further point of view we must not lose sight of in the consideration of this question ; that is, the near connection of the final cause with the fact in the Apostle's mind, in this, as in other instances. The whole doctrine of righteousness by faith may be said to be based in a certain sense on fact, on two great facts especially ;—the conversion of the Apostle himself, and the conversion of the Gentiles. So in this case, what St. Paul saw to be the result, he also considered as the purpose of God. "Known unto God are all his works from the beginning." It was the fact that the law had increased sin, and therefore he regarded it as given for this purpose τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν. It is hardly probable that an interpretation of Scripture will be generally accepted which runs counter to the superficial meaning of the words. Like the canon, "*Potior lectio difficilior,*" *potior difficilior interpretatio* may also have a truth. In this instance the interpretation given is based solely on the comparison of the Epistle to the Romans, which is the only epistle from which we are able to gather at all fully St. Paul's view of the nature of the law, and which has a very close connection with the Epistle to the Galatians.

ᾧ ἐπήγγελλται.] Comp. above, "He saith not unto seeds as of many ; but as of one...which is Christ."

serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a
 20 mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one,

διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων, ordained of angels.] There is no mention in the Old Testament of the law being given by angels, with the exception of a remote allusion in Deut. xxxiii. 2., "The Lord came from Sinai; he came with ten thousand of his saints." It was slowly and gradually, and as many have thought, not until the Babylonish captivity, that the angel of his presence in the Pentateuch, the angel of the Lord in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and the covering cherubim of the prophets expanded into a multitude of the heavenly host, with distinct names and personalities. The word *διαταγείς* here, as the word *διαταγή* in Acts vii. 53., "Who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept it,"—refers rather to the administration than to the giving of the law. As in Heb. ii. 2., the law being in the disposition of angels, is contrasted with the Gospel, which is a revelation of a higher kind.

ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου.] Either Moses or the high priest, or in general the priest or prophet who stood between God and the people.

Before entering on the discussion of this passage, which has received 430 interpretations, it will be well for us to ascertain the drift of the verse before and after, which give almost the sole key we possess to the meaning of the disputed words. To supply the connecting link will be an easier task than to ex-

plain the ambiguous text from itself.

We will first begin by considering an opposite view of the connection to that implied in the note on ver. 19. The object, it may be urged, of the words *διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου* is, not to depreciate the law in comparison of the Gospel, but rather to express its Divine character as a subordinate and intermediate dispensation. "The law was given because of transgressions,"—i.e., as before explained, to produce transgressions; and it was kept in the administration of angels, and one was appointed to stand between God and the people. The figure of angels, it might be said, belongs rather to the pomp and array of the law, and could not naturally be urged as an argument of depreciation. This is true; and may be further confirmed by Acts vii. 53., and yet is sufficiently answered by the context and the parallel of Heb. ii. 2.

If we go backwards from ver. 21., "Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid:" it is plain from these words, that something has been said which implies a depreciation of the law. It would be neither good sense nor agreeable to the manner of St. Paul to say, Whereunto serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, and was firmly established and appointed by angels, and in the hands of a mediator, and a mediator we may

θεὸς εἰς ἐστίν. ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν [τοῦ 21
θεοῦ]; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος

explain to be, &c. Is the law then against the promises of God? There has been nothing in the previous verse which indicated, or could be imagined to indicate that it was. There would be a want of point in such a way of writing. It would be guarding against an inference that could not possibly arise. The view here taken, that there must have been a previous depreciation, is still further strengthened by a comparison of a parallel passage in Rom. vii. 5. 7., where the Apostle suddenly bursts out with the words, "What shall we say then, is the law sin? God forbid," as if to counteract and anticipate the effect of what he had said just before: "The motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members."

Thus far we are led to suppose that the enigmatical verse 20. must form an antithesis to ver. 21. Such an interpretation we shall be able to put upon it, if we paraphrase ver. 19. as follows:—"The law was added not so much for the removal of sin, as to call it into existence, and (but) it was in the appointment of angels, not of God himself, and did not admit of an immediate approach to him." (The particle δέ carries on the opposition of the law and the promise, which preceded.) It has been said that such an interpretation does not agree with the words διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων, which could not, as was observed above, be intended to depreciate the law, but rather to magnify its pomp and circumstance. Admitting this, which may or may not be so, there is

no difficulty in supposing that St. Paul might, in one point of view, intend to depreciate the law, while, in another, he may have glorified it; at any rate so far as to use respecting it an expression familiar to the minds of the Jews; as in 2 Cor. iii. 6. he recognises the law as the ministration of death, and yet acknowledges its glory. It is characteristic of St. Paul, even where he is making towards a point, to insert clauses which are beside his point.

We have now to seek for a suitable interpretation of verse 20., of which two principal conditions may be laid down:—(1.) that it should agree with the connection; and (2.) that it should admit of the word εἰς being taken in the same sense in both members of the sentence. The following combines both these conditions; if it seem obscure, it must be remembered that, in a writer at once so subtle and abrupt as St. Paul, obscurity is not a strong ground of objection:—

The Apostle is contrasting the law which had a mediator, with the Gospel or the promise of faith (for in this passage they are not distinguished) which has no mediator, but an open access to God. Part of the perplexity of the passage has arisen from the circumstance that the Apostle's mode of speaking is in direct opposition to the ordinary language of later theology, and even of some passages in the New Testament itself. It sounds like a paradox to modern ears, to place the superiority of the Gospel

21 but God is one. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid; for if there had been a law given

over the law in the fact that the law had a mediator and the Gospel had not. Yet such is the Apostle's reasoning. The law, he says, was in the hands of a mediator. Hereby, as we gather from the context, he seems to mark some imperfection or infirmity in the law. How is this? He proceeds to enlarge his thought in the 20th verse. Now a mediator, he adds, is not a mediator of one, but God is one. That is, a mediator implies two persons — duality, mediation; — or the principle of a mediator is not unity, but mediation; — but in God is no mediation — he is one: — "Hear, O Israel," as the law said, "the Lord your God is one God." He who is interposed between God and man intercepts instead of revealing God; one is better than two; the dispensation of mediation is inferior to the open vision.

This, or some similar train of argument, marking the inferiority of the law which had a mediator, to the Gospel which had no mediator, passed before the Apostle's mind, though it is not clear how far he filled up the meaning of the enigmatical clause. It is not to be forgotten that the words themselves are a quotation from the Old Testament, which makes it improbable that they are unemphatic or unimportant. The context leads us to infer also that some other refinements of meaning may have suggested themselves to the Apostle; such as, "God is one" in the sense of "one and the same to all," an application which is confirmed by the words of ver. 28., "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor

free." The notion of the unity of the human race lay very near in the Apostle's mind to that of the unity of God (compare Acts, xvii. 26.; 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5.; Rom. iii. 30.). Out of this seems to flow another allusion, hardly conscious, yet latent in the Apostle's mind, to the unity of man with God, which is also partly expressed in the latter half of verse 28.: — "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (comp. also ver. 26.: "For ye are all the sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus"). Thus in addition to the primary meaning of the words, "Now a mediator implies mediation, but there is no mediation in God," we seem to trace three other allusions: — (1.) the reference to the Old Testament; (2.) the allusion to the unity of man to whom God is one and alike; (3.) to the unity of man with God, which no less than the previous allusion is inconsistent with the mediatorial and exclusive character of the Jewish law. These meanings may seem complex, but it may be observed: (1.) they are all in harmony with the spirit of the passage; (2.) they are brought together in other places, and incidentally alluded to in the verses which follow; (3.) they relate to a verse in the Old Testament, which more than any other was likely to be viewed in different lights and to receive a variety of applications.

It has been already admitted that the sense assigned to *ἐνός οὐκ ἕστιν* is not obvious. To test it fairly we may compare another explanation. Verse 20. has been sometimes regarded as

ζωοποιῆσαι, ὧτως ἐκ νόμου¹ ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη· ἀλλὰ 22
 συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἔφρου. 23

¹ ἂν ἐκ νόμου.

meaning,—“Now a mediator implies two parties, and God is one of those parties.” The mediator is ever standing between God and the people. The objections to this explanation are:—(1.) that ἐνός and εἰς are taken in two different senses. A mediator implies more than one, but God is one of the two, εἰς being used in the first clause for one and in the second for one of two; and (2.) that the point of the words ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου is thus lost, while ver. 20. becomes a useless appendage to them.

Let us add an illustration in which the same form of thought is applied to another subject which is more familiar to us. Suppose a person, taking the text “There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus” (1 Tim. ii. 5.), to argue, “Now, if priests truly mediate, there could not be one mediator,” and to express this in the same form as St. Paul, he would say, “Now, priests imply more than one, but Christ is one.” Christ is one, therefore there can be no priesthood but His in the Christian religion; so here, God is one, therefore in the highest revelation of Him, there can be no mediator as in the Jewish religion. The passage just quoted from the Epistle to Timothy is instructive in another point of view, as it shows a progress or development in the language of

St. Paul analogous to that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Like the passage which is the subject of this note, it asserts the universality of salvation; but the form of expression goes beyond that of the Epistle to the Galatians, in speaking of the *universality* of mediation. Gradually the Apostle appropriated more and more of the language of the Old Testament. At first it is characteristic of the Gospel, that it has no mediator, the idea of a mediator belonging to the Jewish people only; afterwards (the sense is nearly the same, though the phraseology is contradictory), as there is one God there is also one mediator between God and man, the same for all mankind.

Ver. 21. Are we to infer from this that the law is opposed to the promises of God? Not so. It is only dead, imperfect, abstract; if it had had power and life, as it had truth and right, verily, righteousness should have been by the law. Comp. Rom. vii. 7.: “What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.” ὁ οὖν νόμος is a resumption of τί οὖν ὁ νόμος: first, as in the passage just quoted from the Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle vindicates the ways of God, by an emphatic denial of the inconsistency of the Gospel and the

which could have given life, verily righteousness should
 22 have been by the law. But the scripture hath shut
 up* all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus
 23 Christ might be given to them that believe. But before

law, and then returns to the opposite point of view.

The powerlessness of the law was the actual fact; in modern language, it had become effete; it belonged to a different state of the world; nothing human or spiritual remained of it. The Apostle, who carried back justification by faith to Abraham, went on to compare also the notion of the law which he gathered from his own age, with its first idea and origin. It was a sort of riddle to him, in the meshes of which he seems to struggle, how the law could be powerless; the law could be the occasion, the strength, and almost the cause of sin, and yet bear the stamp of Divine authority. In some sense he is assured that it is holy, just, and good; its perfection being its imperfection or negative nature; the conviction of sin which it wrought being the way to a new life.

22. ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή.] In the teaching of St. Paul, the doctrine of the law is what the doctrine of original sin is with us. Although in the sins of mankind the Apostle does somewhat faintly and distantly recognise the similitude of Adam's transgression, the law is with him the formal cause of sin, as he says in the Epistle to the Romans, iv. 15., "Where there is no law, there is no transgression." The law it is which, existing side by side with human nature in the world, convicts men of sin, whether con-

sciously or unconsciously to themselves. Sometimes this conviction comes home to them individually; at other times, it appears like the sentence which the word of God passes upon them collectively. In this passage the words "shut up all under sin" [συνέκλεισε τὰ πάντα] refer to men generally, as what follows refers rather to the Gospel as a new revelation to the world at large, than to the reception of the Spirit in the heart of an individual. Comp. Note on the Imputation of the Sin of Adam.

ἀλλά.] "But the law had another purpose."

συνέκλεισε,] included men together (comp. Rom. xi. 32.).

ἡ γραφή] here used for ὁ νόμος, as in many passages ὁ νόμος for the whole Scriptures.

τὰ πάντα,] *humana omnia*, men and their actions alike. Comp. *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*, Rom. viii. Here, as there, it is useless, with words of very general meaning, to define exactly what the Apostle intended.

ἵνα...δοθῇ.] The law in St. Paul's view is the condition of the promise. As in the individual so in the world at large, the sense of sin must precede forgiveness.

ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.] The repetition is not a mere tautology, but gives emphasis: "That the promise of faith may be given to them that have faith." Comp. Rom. i. 16, 17.

23. But before the faith I

ρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι¹ εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν²⁴ εἰς χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν. ἐλθούσης δὲ²⁵ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἔσμεν. πάντες γὰρ²⁶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστὲ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ὅσοι²⁷ γὰρ εἰς χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθητε χριστόν ἐνεδύσασθε. οὐκ²⁸ ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἑλληνι, οὐκ ἐν δούλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερῳ,

¹ συγκλειεῖσθαι.

have spoken of came, that is, before the times of Christ and the Gospel, we were kept shut up against the revelation of faith that was to be.

The condition of the Jew and Gentile in reference to the Gospel, may be figured by the image of men within and without a prison; the first with the shining of a candle to give them light, the second wandering in darkness over the whole earth. The sun arises upon both; to the latter disclosing an endless prospect, while the former, with their candle grown dim before the coming day, are still within the curtains of their tabernacle. No longer *συγκλειόμενοι ὑπὸ νόμον*, they are afraid to come out and look upon the light of heaven. The world is all before them, if they did but know it, and every part full of the Divine presence.

24. ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς χριστόν.] The Apostle changes the figure, and presents the law under a new aspect, hardly a milder one. The English associations of the word schoolmaster have introduced ideas which have no place in his thoughts. He is not speaking of the part which the law bore in the education of the human race,

or of the manner in which the Old Testament prepared the way for the New. He regards the law in one point of view only, as the slave to whose severe discipline we were subject in the days of our pupilage, nothing differing from slaves in our own condition (compare iv. 1.). To this is opposed the freedom and sonship of the Gospel. In our inferior state, while we were unable to take care of ourselves, the law was our tutor "for" or "unto" Christ.

26. πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστέ.] The connection of these words is with *παιδαγωγός*. We are no longer the "wards of the law," for God is pleased to reckon us as his sons. In the word *πάντες* there is a latent allusion to the Gentile Christians: "For ye are the sons of God, Gentiles as well as Jews alike."

διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.] These words admit of two constructions. Either we may read, Ye are all sons through faith in Christ Jesus; or, Ye are all one in Christ Jesus, that is, as believers through faith. Comp. Rom. iii. 25.

27. The latter interpretation agrees best with the following verse: — "Ye are all sons of God

faith came, we were kept in ward* under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. So* that the law was our schoolmaster* unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is

in Christ Jesus; for ye have put on Christ as many of you as were baptized into Him." The figure of putting on Christ has a reference, first, to the robe in which the newly baptized person was arrayed on coming up out of the water, and recalls also an idiomatic expression in later Greek, of "putting on another" to signify close and intimate friendship with him. See on Rom. xiii. 14. In this latter passage, St. Paul exhorts believers "to put on Christ;" here he implies that they have already attained in baptism the state which is thus described. In one sense the believer is regenerate; in another, not. His whole life is anticipated in the beginning, and still he may be exhorted to begin. Compare Col. iii. 9, 10:—"Putting off the old man with his actions; and putting on the new man which is renewed unto knowledge in the image of him that created him."

οὐκ ἔτι.] It is not that the Jew or Greek inhere in Christ; for these differences are one and pass away in him.

The 27th verse gives the reason of the 26th, "Ye are the sons of God, as ye are one in

Christ Jesus; for in your baptism ye became one with Him;" as the 28th expands the idea of the 27th. As in Rom. iii. 28., from the revelation of righteousness by faith the Apostle passes to the universality of salvation, so here from all men being one in Christ, to the enumeration of those who are included in this union. The same thought recurs in nearly the same connection in Col. iii. 11.

28. It has been often asked whether Christianity has altered the condition of women and slaves; and the answer sometimes given is, that no positive precepts are found in the New Testament forbidding that subjection of either, which seemed natural to the ancient world. Some have even thought that the spirit of the Gospel tended rather to slavery than to freedom, in enjoining the forgiveness of injury and discouraging the desire to be free. It is true that no class or sex is encouraged by Christianity to claim its rights; yet not the less surely in the lapse of centuries did the Gospel mould the institutions of mankind. It was a leaven which was hid in three measures of meal,

οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυν· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἐστὲ ἐν
 χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ 29
 σπέρμα ἐστέ, ¹ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

¹ Add καί.

until the whole was leavened. Of the world and the Roman empire, and the institutions of ancient times, no less than of the Jewish religion, the words of Christ hold good:—"Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again." And with reference to the present verse, it

could not but be a consequence of regarding men and women, bond and free, as one and alike in the presence of God, that their spiritual freedom became also an external and actual one.

εἰς ἐστὲ ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.] Ye are one person in being one with Christ.

neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ
 29 Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's
 seed, ¹ heirs according to the promise.

¹ *Add and.*

29. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς χριστοῦ.] But
 if ye are Christ's, and members
 of his body, then as Christ was
 the seed of Abraham, so likewise
 are ye the heirs of that promise
 which was made to Abraham in
 reference to Christ.

The whole argument from ver.
 26. turns upon the oneness of the

believer with Christ. This it is
 which makes him the Son of God.
 This it is which is given, not to
 the Jew only, but to all man-
 kind. This it is which is the
 means whereby he is made the
 heir of the promises to Abraham,
 the coheir with Christ, who is in a
 special sense, the seed of promise.

Λέγω δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, 4
οὐδέν διαφέρει δούλου, κύριος πάντων ὢν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ 2
ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας
τοῦ πατρός. οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ 3

IV. The 24th verse of the preceding chapter suggested a train of imagery which is continued in that on which we are entering. "We are no longer under a schoolmaster, but the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise." The mention of the word "heirs" gives a new turn to the figure. The heir, while he is a child is a servant in his own house; but now "the Son has made us free," and we are "lords of all."

In the verses which follow (8—10.), the Apostle speaks of the Galatians as having been once in bondage "to them that by nature are no Gods," and yet as "returning to the weak and beggarly elements." (8, 9.) The apparent inconsistency of this language has been already remarked upon in the Introduction. Supposing the Galatians to have been in bondage "to them that by nature are no Gods," they must have been Gentiles. But the following verse appears to warn them with almost equal explicitness against a return to Judaism. Can we suppose that the Apostle is speaking to them from his own point of view, and that a return to Judaism means only "what to himself would have been a return?" That is not probable, any more than that he would have argued out of the law and the prophets with those who knew nothing of the law and the prophets. For however fulfilled his thoughts may

have been with the testimony of the Old Testament, he was quite able to present the Gospel in another form, as he has indeed done in some of the later Epistles. Moreover, the mere fact of a Gentile communion relapsing into Judaism of itself demands an explanation. The most probable explanation is, that the Galatians, although Gentiles by origin, were also Jewish proselytes, who returned, when the influence of the Apostle was withdrawn, to "the weak and beggarly elements" in which they had been brought up. According to this explanation ver. 8. refers to their original heathenism, ver. 9. to their Jewish proselytism.

A striking confirmation of the view here taken, which is further discussed in the Introduction to the Epistle, and also in that to the Epistle to the Romans, is afforded by the following passages:—1 Cor. x. 1, 2., &c.: "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all *our* fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," and so on. Add 2 Cor. iii., in which, as in the previously quoted passage, the Apostle presupposes an intimate acquaintance with the Mosaic writings. With these compare 1 Cor. xii. 2.: "Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led:" where, as in the Epistles to

4 Now I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child,
differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of
2 all; but is under tutors and governors until the time
3 appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were

the Galatians and Romans, those who are reasoned with out of the law, who are the heirs of the promises to the fathers, who had been converted by St. Paul only a few years previously, are yet spoken of as having been at some time or in some sense idolaters.

The succeeding passage, 11—20., is more abrupt and fragmentary than almost any other in the Epistles of St. Paul, and for that reason one of the most obscure. It may be compared with the impassioned bursts in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where, as here, feeling seems to take the place of logical order or arrangement; and reproof, affection, admonition, thoughts of himself and them, anger at the false teachers, painful recollections of the past, mingle hurriedly in the Apostle's mind. At the 21st verse the style of the discourse changes. Again turning to the history of the patriarchs, he adapts another passage to the instruction of those who desired to be under the law—the narrative of the two sons of Abraham, or the allegory of the two covenants.

1. *Λέγω δέ, Now, I say.*] But I carry the figure a step further. As we are heirs, so also there was a time before we came to the inheritance. That was our state under the law. It was a period of tutelage and guardianship, which we now look back upon; when we were as servants in our own house, when we had nothing, and yet were lords of all.

Compare for an image nearly similar John, viii. 35.:—"The servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever. If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

2. *ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας, until the time appointed,*] answers to *ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου*; a further coincidence in the figure. There is an appointed time when the duties of the guardianship cease; so there is an appointed time at which the power of the law ceases, and the Son comes into the world.

3. Even so we, when we were children, were enslaved under the elements of the world. The latter words (*ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου δεδουλωμένοι*) have received various interpretations:—(1.) Nature-worship; either the observance of Jewish feasts, or the adoration of the hosts of heaven. It may be doubted whether St. Paul would have described the first of these as a worship of "the elements;" or, whether the second is justified by the connection of the passage. (2.) The religion of this visible world. But there is no trace of St. Paul opposing, in this abstract manner, the religion of the seen to the religion of the unseen. (3.) The "alphabet," the rudiments of religion, which are known also to the Gentile world; the beginning of knowledge to those who "were not yet, in understanding, men," as implied in the previous verses.

στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἡμεν δεδουλωμένοι· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν 4
 τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν
 αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα 5
 τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβ-

There still seems an inappropriateness in the use of the word (κόσμος) world, which does not teach the rudiments of religion, but is itself the opposing principle to religion (compare Gal. vi. 14.). Further, this explanation of *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* is inconsistent with the figure of the law as a *παιδάγωγος εἰς χριστόν*. For the rudiments under which the law enslaved men could not be rudiments of the Gentile world.

The words *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* occur also in Col. ii. 8.—*βλέπετε μή τις ἔσται ὑμᾶς ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ οὐ κατὰ χριστόν*, and is repeated in ver. 20.—*εἰ ἀπεθάνετε σὺν χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, τί ὥς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε*; where the context would lead us to think, not of elementary knowledge, but of excess of knowledge, vain deceit, will worship, the follies of Neoplatonism and Orientalism. There, as here (comp. ver. 8. 16—18.), the state of error incidentally alluded to is a confusion of Judaism and heathenism; in the 8th verse itself, the words *φιλοσοφία* and *κόσμος* seeming to refer to the heathen, *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων* to the Jewish element. To give *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* the same meaning in both passages, we had better translate it, “principles of the world,” which will agree with the 9th verse of Gal. iv., “weak and beggarly ele-

ments” or “principles.” This latter phrase, as it is inapplicable to nature-worship, in some degree fixes the meaning of *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* in the present passage by excluding that explanation of the words.

The expression, “principles of the world,” is ideal, and it is impossible to say precisely what the Apostle meant by it, any more than what he meant by “rulers of the darkness of this world.” As to ourselves, so to St. Paul, the world means that portion of evil, or of mankind, with which we come most nearly into contact, and which is most directly opposed to us, as well as all the world which is unknown to us, and which we comprise in the imaginary limit of an abstract term. The heathen world was to him its first and most natural meaning, but the evil of the heathen world was also the figure of the Jewish, just as the Jewish law was a figure of the law written in the heart of the Gentile. Hence the transition was easy from the Gentile to the Jew. By a similar transposition of language, we speak of “the world” in modern times finding a place in the hearts of religious men, or of Christianity being infected with a worldly spirit, the force of which consists in using against the professing Christian the term which he uses against others; just as St. Paul, here writing to professing Jews, applies to Judaism the language which was ever

children, were in bondage under the elements of the
 4 world : but when the fulness of the time was come, God
 sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the
 5 law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we

in the Jew's mouth against the rest of mankind.

4. ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, *but when the fulness of time was come.*] Shall we say that great events arise from antecedents, or without them ; in the fulness of time, or out of due time ? by sudden crises, or with long purpose and preparation ? It is impossible for us to view the great changes of the world under any of these aspects exclusively. The spread of the Roman empire, the fall of the Jewish nation, the decline of the heathen religions,—Jewish prophecy, Greek philosophy, these are the natural links which connect the Gospel with the actual state of mankind, the causes, humanly speaking, of its propagation, and the soil in which it grew. But there is something besides of which no account can be given. The external circumstances or conditions of events do not explain history any more than life. Why the Gospel came into the world in a particular form, or at a particular time, is a question which is not reached by any analysis of this sort.

This Providential time is what the Apostle calls "the fulness of time," not because in the modern way of reflection the causes and antecedents of the Gospel were already in being, but because it was the time appointed of God, the mysterious hour when the great revelation was to be made. It is when contemplated from

within, not from without, that it appears to him to be the fulness of time ; standing in the same relation to the world at large, that the moment of conversion does to the individual soul.

γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, *born of a woman,*] i. e. with a human nature, according to a common Hebrew expression (comp. Job, xiv. 1.), not attributed to Christ with the purpose of distinguishing Him either from Adam or from mankind in general.

γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον.] Christ took upon Him, not merely human nature, but the seed of Abraham. That was the second condition of His redeeming mankind, that He should be like them, that they might be like Him. See iii. 13.

5. τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον, *those under the law.*] Is this said of Jews or of Gentiles ? Of "the Jew first, and afterwards of the Gentile." The Apostle, in retracing the scheme of Providence, is speaking chiefly of Jews, in allusion to the Judaizing errors of the Galatians, indirectly also of Gentiles. The words ἐκ γυναικός γενόμενον, in the previous verse, refer to all mankind. Compare Rom. iii. 19, 20. for a similar ambiguity ; also, Gal. iii. 14., iv. 26.

υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.] Here, as in verse 26. of the preceding chapter, the Apostle mingles two different metaphors. We are servants, then sons ; but as children we were always sons, and only receive back what was originally designed for us.

βωμεν. ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα 6
τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν¹, κράζον Ἀββᾶ ὁ
πατήρ. ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, 7
καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.²

Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς 8
φύσει μὴ³ οὖσι θεοῖς· νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ 9
γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ
ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνθρωπον δουλεύειν
θέλετε; ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ 10

¹ ἡμῶν.² θεοῦ διὰ χριστοῦ.³ μὴ φύσει.

νιοθεσία.] It is a favourite thought with the Apostle, that the Christian is the adopted son of God. He is not merely a proselyte brought from another nation to share the privileges of the Jewish people; he is made a member of the family of Christ. The custom of adoption was familiar both to the Greek and Roman law, and is used by the Apostle, who was the Roman citizen of a Greek city, like some other legal notions (Rom. vii. 1.; Gal. iii. 15., iv. 1.), to express the relations of God and man.

ἀπολάβωμεν.] Under the first person plural Jew and Gentile are alike included; in the next verse the Apostle addresses the Galatians directly.

6. ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί.] It is the effect, and also the proof of your sonship, that God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, "Father." Comp. Rom. viii. 17. 15.

7. διὰ θεοῦ.] The reading of the majority of MSS. in this passage is unlike the common language of Scripture, which ascribes to God the authorship and end, rather than the means of salvation. Compare, however, i. 1. The context seems to re-

quire—"Thou art not a servant, but a son; and if a son, an heir through Christ, as being one with the heir." Instead of this, adopting the words διὰ θεοῦ we must refer them back to θεός in the preceding verse:—"The same God who gave you his spirit, as he has made you sons, so has he made you heirs."

8. Ἀλλά] marks emphatically the contrast between their former and present state. τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσι θεοῖς is equivalent to the expression in 1 Cor. viii. 5., οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοί, gods who have no real existence in nature, but only in the thoughts and language of men. Heathen idolatry had a twofold aspect to the mind of a believer in St. Paul's day. First, it produced the impression of unmeaningness and deadness in itself, and senselessness in its worshippers. The gods that the heathen worshipped, were no gods; there was no spirit or life in them, none to hear or answer. When a man looked round upon the state of the heathen world, the reflection suggested itself "that an idol is nothing in the world." (Compare 1 Cor. viii. 3., xii. 2.) Next, as the religions of

- 6 might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are
sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our¹
7 hearts, crying, Abba, father. Wherefore thou art no
more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir
through God.²
8 Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did ser-
9 vice unto them which by nature are no gods. But
now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known
of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly
elements, whereunto ye desire * to begin again to be in
10 bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and

¹ Your.

² Of God through Christ.

East and West met and mingled, the powers of evil seemed to stir again. It was not a dead opposition, but a living force, which Jewish fanaticism for the law opposed to the Gospel. And when the heathen worship allied itself with impurity, it was a doctrine of devils; and the feast in the idol's temple, a table of devils.

9. *νῦν δὲ γινόντες Θεόν.*] This clause, like the previous one, shows that there must have been a time when the Galatians were Gentiles. They had passed from idols to serve the living God.

μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ.] All that we are in relation to God, more truly speaking we receive from Him. Comp. 1 Cor. viii. 3., *εἰ δέ τις ἀγαπᾷ τὸν Θεόν, οὗτος ἔγνωσται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.* Also 1 Cor. xiii. 12., *τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.* The knowledge which man has of God is also the reflex act of the Divinity upon Himself, who thereby seals man as his own.

πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν.] The going back is, in the mind of St. Paul, the inversion of the order

of Providence, who willed that the law should precede, not follow, the Gospel. It was also a return to the state in which the Galatians were before they received the Gospel. For the weakness of the law compare the expression, Rom. viii. 3.:—"What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh." The law was weak and meagre, and could never have power to save men. See note at the commencement of the chapter.

Ἐλεγε.] To which ye of your own accord begin again to be in bondage.

10. Ye observe sabbath days, and new moons, and times for feasts, and sabbatical years. That is to say, ye observe all the requirements of the Jewish law. Compare Col. ii. 16.:—"Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days."

Our Lord and St. Paul, everywhere, speak against the superstitious observance of the Sabbath; they no where enforce the

ἐνιαντούς; φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, μή πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα εἰς 11
 ὑμᾶς. γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, 12
 δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδέν με ἡδίκησατε· οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' 13
 ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον,
 καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν¹ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου· οὐκ ἔξου- 14
 θενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξέπτύσατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέ-

¹ μου τόν.

consecration of one day in seven, however right and free from superstition such an institution may be in itself, on Christians. The Christian Sunday rests on another foundation: ancient use, the reason of the thing, the practice of the Christian Church,—these grounds are sufficient to make thoughtful men careful of its observance for themselves, and fearful of giving offence to others, in violating the custom of their own or other countries. The origin of this, as of some other of the greatest institutions of mankind, is not exactly known; but that is no reason for doubting its sacredness or Divine authority.

It is unfortunate that the desire to find a sanction for the observance of Sunday in the words of Scripture, has tended to draw away the minds of Christians from the warnings which, in the New Testament, are continually repeated against Judaical reverence for days. The observance of days, or the existence of rites and ceremonies, in our own Church and country, are a reason for remembering, and not for forgetting, that there is a use of days and ceremonies which the Scripture everywhere condemns, even though conventional among ourselves.

12. "Do ye become as I am,

for I am as ye are." Compare for the play of words, Rom. xvi. 13., "Salute Rufus, and his mother and mine;" ver. 23., "Gaius, mine host, and of the whole Church;" also 2 Cor. xii. 20., "I fear, lest, coming unto you, I shall find you such as I will not, and be found of you such as ye would not;" where there is a similar ambiguity. Here the Apostle would say, "Seek not to differ from me, for I am one in heart with you." A slightly different turn may also be given:—"Be ye Gentiles, followers of me, even as I, being a Jew, make myself a Gentile like you." Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 21., *τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος*.

The Apostle changes his tone. His old affection for the Galatians revives, and he implores them to consider that he is not speaking of any personal wrongs of his own. He is touched by the memory of their attachment to him while he was yet with them. "I know how weak and feeble I was, how much reason there was for you to despise me; but you did the opposite, you received me as an angel of God. Your affection for me was indeed extravagant; there was nothing which you would not have done for me."

οὐδέν με ἡδίκησατε.] The Apostle is recalling, without exact connection, his reminiscences of the Galatian Church. There is

- 11 years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you
 12 labour in vain. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am ; for I
 13 am as ye are. Ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how
 amid* infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel unto
 14 you at the first, and your¹ temptation which was in my
 flesh. Ye despised not, nor rejected me* ; but received

¹ My.

no bar, he would say, between me and you ; “indeed you have not offended me.”

οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι’ ἀσθενείαν τῆς σαρκὸς.] In the explanation of these words, we have to choose between Greek usage and the sense required by the context. Adhering to the ordinary meaning of *διὰ* with the accusative, we should translate, “Ye know that it was on account of an illness that I preached to you at first.” There would be no want of courtesy to the Galatians in this, if we only lay the stress on the latter part of the sentence. “You saw that it was a mere accident that made me preach to you, yet you showed no want of care or tenderness to me.” Yet it seems hardly likely that the Apostle would have spoken of mere illness, in the succeeding verse, as “your temptation in my flesh.” Illness would create sympathy, not, as he seems to imply in the words *ἐξουθενήσατε* and *ἐξεπύσασατε*, ridicule and disgust. There is no intimation in the Acts of the Apostles of any peculiar occasion leading him to preach the Gospel in Galatia ; nor is an illness, which hindered his journey, a likely or natural one.

It is more probable that the Apostle is alluding to the thorn in the flesh, to that depression of spirit and feebleness of bodily

presence which he refers to elsewhere in 2 Corinthians (i. 9., ii. 13., x. 10.), and which may have been a form of the same disorder. (Compare “The messenger of Satan to buffet me,” which seems to denote a half mental, half bodily affliction.) He is speaking of the state in which he preached to them, not of some accidental cause of his mission. Compare again 2 Cor. x. 10., ἡ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενῆς, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος ; and the words of 1 Cor. ii. 3., which are still nearer, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς. All these passages give the same idea of the Apostle’s personal appearance. Of such an one it might be truly said, “Ye did not show contempt or dislike.”

The question remains, however, to be considered, whether *διὰ* with the accusative can be used in the sense of “in the state of ;” whether, in other words, *δι’ ἀσθενείαν* in the Galatians is equivalent to *ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ* in the 1 Corinthians, ii. 3. Even if no other example can be adduced, the context and the parallel verse in 1 Cor. afford strong ground for supposing that such must be the meaning of the preposition in this passage. And an approximation to the same use is found in Phil. i. 15., *τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ*

ξασθέ με, ὡς χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ποῦ οὖν¹ ὁ μακαρισμὸς 15
 ὑμῶν; μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 μοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες² ἐδώκατέ μοι. ὥστε ἐχθρὸς 16
 ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, 17
 ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε.
 καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν 18

¹ τίς οὖν ἦν.² Add ἔν.

φθόνον καὶ ἔριν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν τὸν χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν, where the meaning, "because of good will," is forced, and the words διὰ φθόνον and δι' εὐδοκίαν are resumed by παντὶ τρόπῳ in the following verse. Lastly, the fact that in numerous other senses διὰ is joined with the accusative and genitive indifferently, and in the New Testament especially with the accusative, for the mean or instrument, or in a general sense of relation (John, vi. 57.) and of time (2 Pet. iii. 12.), is sufficient to show that the usage here, though uncommon, is no great violation of grammatical analogy. Comp. Is. xxviii. 11.

"You looked upon my face as upon the face of an angel. You thought you saw Christ Himself in the person of His servant." τὸ πρότερον, on the first of my two visits to you: probably the one recorded in Acts, xvi. 6.

15. ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν] What has become of the proclamation of your joy, "the blessedness of which ye spake?" It is gone. I ask you, because in your old state I bear you witness that you were beside yourselves in your gratitude to me. I ask you, because you seemed to have a blessedness, though you really had not; for I bear you witness that there was nothing which you would not have done for me.

μακαρισμός,] not "blessedness;" but, as in Rom. iv. 9., the attribution of blessedness. So here the declaration of how blessed you were,—the state described also in Gal. iii. 2.

ὥστε.] The inference that I draw is, that speaking the truth has ruined me with you.

17. ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς.] They desire to make proselytes of you, but in a bad way; nay, they would (1.) shut you out from the Gospel, (2.) or from us, that ye may have the zeal of proselytes towards them. Comp. συγκλειόμενοι, iii. 23.; and for ζηλόω, Rom. x. 2.; 2 Cor. xi. 2.

18. καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι.] But it is good to be zealously entreated, always where the object is good. It is difficult to find an explanation of these words, suitable both to what has preceded, and what follows in the succeeding clause. In ver. 15. the Apostle had said in a figure that nothing could exceed the zealous attachment of the Galatians to him while he was with them; they would have plucked out their eyes for him. So that he had just made them his enemies by speaking the truth. Very different was the conduct of the Judaizing teachers; they sought only how they might produce this zealous attachment, not certainly by speak-

- 15 me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out
 16 your own eyes and have given them to me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the
 17 truth? They zealously entreat * you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that ye might affect them.
 18 But it is good to be zealously entreated* always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you.

ing the truth; they would if possible monopolise the affection of their converts. Thus far we have had two trains of thought suggested by each other;—(1.) the zealous affection of the Galatians to the Apostle; (2.) the zealous affection of the false teachers for the Galatians themselves. The Apostle proceeds:—“But it is good to be the object of this zealous affection, such as you showed to me, such as they show to you, in a good thing, at all times;” and then returning to the previous clause, he adds, “and not only when I am present with you.” As though he said, “It is a good thing that you and they should be the objects of these warm feelings to each other, and yet it is a pity that you forget absent friends. How earnestly were you attached to me! How soon did you forget me!” For a similar confusion of two connections, compare Rom. xv. 27.

Another way of making out the passage is as follows:—The first clause of verse 18. may be opposed to verse 17.: “There was warm affection between you and them. But warm affection is always good where it relates to a good object;”—a general

statement which describes the opposite case to that of the Galatians and the false teachers, under which, however, lurks the thought of that true affection which they had felt to the Apostle himself, and suggests the clause which follows, “and not only while I am present with you.” It is good to be the object of these strong feelings where the matter in hand is good (*sub.* which was not your case with the false teachers); good, too, that such feelings should not be so transitory as you have shown to me. A third way may be suggested:—“It is good to be zealously affected, provided the object be good, in my absence as in my presence.” As if he said, “I admit the excellence of the feeling, and am not jealous of your showing it towards others in my absence.” The spirit of confidence, however, which the Apostle thus shows towards the Galatians is hardly consistent with the context.

None of the difficulties of this passage are removed, though new ones are superadded by taking ζηλοῦσθαι actively, a sense in which it is not elsewhere found, and which is also inconsistent with the use of the active (ζηλοῦτε) which immediately precedes.

τῷ παρεῖναι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τέκνα¹ μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω 19
 ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι 20
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀπο-
 ροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον 21
 οὐκ ἀκούετε; γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς 22
 ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.
 ἀλλ' ὁ [μὲν] ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, 23

¹ τέκνια.

19. οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω, *of whom I travail again.*] As in other passages, St. Paul compares himself to a spiritual father who had begotten many sons in the Gospel, so here he likens himself to a mother *travailing* in sorrow because "there is not strength to bring forth." The confusion of metaphors is curious:—"I am in travail, (not until you are born again, but) until Christ be born in you." Compare 1 Thess. ii. 7., v. 4. (Lach.); Rom. vii. 4. 6.; 2 Cor. iii. 18.

20. ἤθελον for ἤθελον ἂν.] "I could wish;" like *ἡνυχόμεν* for *ἡνυχόμεν ἂν*, in Rom. ix. 3. *δέ* appears to arise out of the idea of absence hinted at in ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι of ver. 18.; "I am absent, but I wish I were present."

ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου.] Either to speak in a different tone from that in which I am now writing, or to use a different tone from what I did when with you.

ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν, *I stand in doubt of you.*] "Because I am in a strait in reference to you, I know not how to deal with you." Comp. Heb. vi. 6.:—"It is impossible to renew them again to repentance if they shall fall away." See also 2 Cor.

x. 10, 11.:—"For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that, such as we are in word when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present."

21. I will try another method; perchance the words of the law may have more weight with you than my own. "Ye then that desire to be under the law, hear an allegory which is taken from the law."

Whether this is an argument or an illustration, is a question that naturally occurs to the mind of the reader. To an Alexandrian writer of the first century (may we say, therefore, to St. Paul himself?) the question itself could hardly have been made intelligible. That very modern distinction between argument and illustration was precisely what his mind wanted, to place it on a level with the modes of thought of our own age. We must, therefore, find some other way of characterising the passage. It is neither an argument nor an illustration, but an interpretation of the Old Testament Scripture after the manner of the age in

19 My¹ children, of whom I travail in birth again until
 20 Christ be formed in you, I desire to be present with
 you now, and to change my voice ; for I stand in doubt
 of you.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not
 22 hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had
 two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free
 23 woman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born

¹ Add little.

which St. Paul lived ; that is, after the manner of the Jewish and Christian Alexandrian writers. Whatever difference there is between him and them, or between Philo and the Christian fathers as interpreters of Scripture, is not one of kind, but of degree. A truer difference is made by the noble spirit of the Apostle shining through the elements of the law in which he clothes his meaning. The form of allegory, or of mysticism, does not straiten the freedom of the Gospel. Strange as it may at first appear, that his mode of interpreting the Old Testament Scriptures should not conform to our laws of logic or language, it would be far stranger if it had not conformed with the natural modes of thought and association in his own day. See Essay on Quotations from Old Testament, and on Philo.

22, 23. There is a peculiar allusion conveyed by the expression *κατὰ σάρκα*, which the Apostle

has usually applied to the Mosai- cal law as he has also applied *ἐπαγγελία* to the Gospel. In the very terms of his statement, he has linked the interpretation of the allegory with the narrative itself.

In what follows, the law and the Gospel are paralleled with the two children of Abraham. The one was his natural child according to the flesh, with which notion of fleshly descent the Jewish dispensation is inseparably bound up ; the other was the spiritual child, born according to promise, with which promise, in the previous chapter, the Gospel has already been identified : which things are spoken in one way, but designed to be understood in another. For Ishmael and Isaac are two covenants ; the one from Mount Sinai, answering to the Jerusalem that now is ; the other bearing the image of the heavenly Jerusalem. The points of comparison may be exhibited as follows :—

HAGAR.

The child according to the flesh.
 The law given on Sinai, which
 Sinai is a mountain in the land
 of Hagar. See on ver. 25.)

SARAH.

The child according to promise.
 The Gospel.

ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. ἅτινά ἐστιν 24
 ἀλληγορούμενα. αὗται γάρ εἰσιν¹ δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν
 ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγαρ
 (τὸ γὰρ² Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ), συστοιχεῖ δὲ 25
 τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ (δουλεύει γὰρ³ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
 αὐτῆς). ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις 26
 ἐστὶν μήτηρ [πάντων] ἡμῶν. γέγραπται γὰρ Εὐφράν- 27
 θητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουςα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἡ οὐκ
 ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς

¹ Add αἱ.² Add Ἀγαρ.³ δέ.

The bondwoman.

Jerusalem in bondage with her children.

The free woman who had been barren.

The Jerusalem which is above, and is free, and the mother of all mankind.

The bondwoman to be cast forth by the free woman.

ἀλληγορούμενα.] “Which have a different meaning, for their true meaning is that they are two covenants.” Compare Philo, ii. 483.: *many αἱ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι’ ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις.*

μία μὲν . . . εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα.] The image is here a little forced. It was not in the fact, but in the feeling of the Israelite towards him, that the elder served the younger. The Apostle, identifying Hagar with the law and the law with slavery, makes the bondwoman also the mother of bondmen.

25. τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ.] The MS. authority and later editors are nearly divided about the admission of the word Ἀγαρ in this verse (τὸ γὰρ Ἀγαρ, J. K.; τὸ γὰρ, C. F. G.; τὸ Ἀγαρ, B.; τὸ δὲ Ἀγαρ, A. D. E.) The insertion, however, does little towards supplying the connection

of the 25th and 24th verses; as the old explanations, that Hagar is the Arabic word for a rock, or the Arabic name of mount Sinai (whether we suppose it probable or otherwise, that St. Paul would have quoted Arabic words in writing to the Galatians), are destitute of foundation. On better authority it is stated that there was a town Hagar close to the mountain, the name of which may have been given to Sinai itself; of this latter fact, however, no proof is adduced.

A sufficient sense is obtained by laying the stress on ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ. “For mount Sinai is in Arabia, the land of the children of Hagar;” or “For this Hagar is mount Sinai in the land of the children of Hagar.” (Comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7.) That is to say, Hagar typifies the law given on mount Sinai, because mount Sinai is in the country of the descendants of

after the flesh ; but he of the freewoman was by promise.
 24 Which things are an allegory : for these are the two
 covenants ; the one from the mount Sinai, which gen-
 25 dereth to bondage, which is Agar (for this mount
 Sinai is in Arabia¹), and answereth to Jerusalem which
 26 now is (for she is² in bondage with her children). But
 Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother
 27 of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren
 that bearest not ; break forth and cry, thou that tra-
 vailest not : for the desolate hath many more children

¹ For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia.

² And is.

Hagar. Such appears to be the least objectionable mode of explaining the passage ; it may be admitted not wholly free from subtlety and obscurity. The explanation is assisted by taking the words, τὸ γὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, as a parenthesis, and connecting the following clause συστοιχεῖ with μία διαθήκη preceding.

“These are the two covenants ; the one gendering into bondage which is Hagar (for mount Sinai is in the land Hagar), and answering to Jerusalem that now is.” δουλεύει γάρ—for the point of the comparison is, she and her descendants are slaves.

26. Here St. Paul drops the figure and compares the heavenly Jerusalem with the Jerusalem that now is. What we expect to follow is—“But the other covenant is Sarah the free woman, whose children are free.” Instead of this, the Apostle only works out the idea of freedom as opposed to bondage.

The same image occurs in Rev. xxi. 2.—“The holy city, the New Jerusalem, descending out of heaven like a bride adorned

for her husband ;” and in Heb. xii. 22.—“Ye have come near to mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.” Like all similar images, it is taken in a more or less spiritual sense, according to the spirituality of those who make use of, or receive it. That it is a city of freedom, neither in bondage to the Romans, nor in bondage to the law of Moses, is the manner in which the Apostle pictures it. Compare also, Phil. iii. 20, ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανῷ.

[πάντων] ἡμῶν.] πάντων is an ancient various reading, occurring in Cod. A. and in Irenæus.

27. Isa. liv. 1. from the LXX. The Apostle applies these words to Sarah, and through her to the Christian Church, which has been called in the previous verse, “the mother of us all.”

ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα.] Because the wife who is deserted hath many more children than she who has the husband.

Compare for a trace of the same thought, Rom. iv. 19., Heb. vi. 11.

ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. ὑμεῖς¹ δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ 28
 ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα 29
 γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν·
 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ 30
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει² ὁ υἱὸς
 τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. διό³, ἀδελ- 31
 φοί οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκης τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

¹ ἡμεῖς . . . ἐσμέν.² κληρονομήση.³ ὥρα.

28. Now you, brethren, as Isaac was, are children of the promise. Above St. Paul had linked together the Gospel and the promise to the exclusion of the law. Here he repeats the same "in a figure."

29. The figure is carried on a step further. It has been already established that the believer is represented by Isaac, the adherent of the law by Ishmael. But in the Old Testament, Gen. xxi. 9., it was or seemed to be recorded that Ishmael mocked Isaac, which suggests to the Apostle the thought of a further resemblance to the case of the Christian Church. All its persecution came originally from those who were the children according to the flesh; either stirring up the Gentiles against them, or as St. Paul felt in the case of the Galatian Church (v. 11. τί ἔτι διώκομαι; "Why do I yet suffer persecution?"), persecuting by false teachers, who were really Jews, and pretended to be Christians, and sometimes "said they were Jews, and were not."

Some degree of confusion is observable in the image, that is to say, Hagar and Ishmael both equally represent the law, and Sarah and Isaac the Gospel.

30. The image expressed St. Paul's feelings in another point. The Scripture said—"Cast forth the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman shall not inherit with the son of the free woman." St. Paul also knew that the law and the Gospel could not exist together. It was the appointment of God that, sooner or later, the one should drive out the other.

The stories of the Rabbis have enlarged on the simple statement of the book of Genesis that Sarah saw Ishmael "playing," with her son Isaac,—the word for which neither in the Hebrew nor the LXX. admits the sense of mocking. They narrate how Isaac and Ishmael had a strife respecting the right of the first-born, and how, as they were in the field together, Ishmael pursued Isaac with his arrows, &c. Such tales the Apostle may have had in his mind when he used the words ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, opposed in this passage to κατὰ σάρκα, which is our chief means of fixing its meaning. Ishmael is called the child according to the flesh, because born of the bondwoman in the natural way; Isaac is said to be the offspring according to the Spirit, because sprung supernaturally "from one as good

28 than she which hath an husband. But ye¹, brethren, as
 29 Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he
 that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was
 30 born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless
 what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and
 her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir
 31 with the son of the freewoman. Wherefore², brethren,
 we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

¹ Now we.² So then.

as dead,"—the heir of the promises, in whose person the dispensation of the Spirit is anticipated.

31. διό.] The MSS. vary between ἄρα, ἄραδε, ἄρα οὖν, διό Lachmann and Tischendorf, ἡμεῖς δέ. The reading ἄρα reminds us of the conclusion of chap. vii. of the Romans, which, like the conclusion of the present passage, appears out of place. Throughout the whole comparison, the Apostle has assumed that we are not the children of the bondwoman, but of the free; and the further inference has been drawn, that the bondwoman is to be cast forth. It seems too late to say, "therefore, brethren," and so on. It may be urged in answer, that we cannot argue against the repetition of conclusions, or, indeed, respecting the order of thought at all, in a style which is so unequal as that of St. Paul.

Whether we read ἄρα or διό, the sense would be better given by commencing a new paragraph or chapter from these words, to note that they are not so much an inference from the preceding, as a practical application of them. "Wherefore, brethren, we are not the children of the bond, but

of the free." Christ made us free, stand therefore; or, according to the received reading. "Stand fast in the liberty with which Christ made us free."

So in language old yet new, "in the oldness of the letter itself," the Apostle tells of the freedom of the Gospel. The child of promise is the figure of the kingdom of heaven which is persecuted on earth, yet in the highest sense free, and the mother of all mankind. The persecutor is the fleshly heir, the image of the covenant of mount Sinai, who is now cast out and not suffered to inherit with the child of promise. The law and the Gospel cannot dwell together; the Gospel must drive out the law.

Such a tale in that age and country, finding its way to the minds of men, gave them a type or symbol, a form of truth and knowledge in which they received a principle not otherwise easy for them to grasp; it might be compared to an earthen vessel, in which the water of life was raised to the lips. He who objects to the tale as a mere illustration or application, should remember that such adaptations or illustrations

have ever been the mode in which the past has been interpreted by the present ; broken to pieces and put together again ; a new temple built out of the old stones—a new life given to the dry bones. Great as has been the influence of the wisdom of former ages, that influence has arisen much more from the idea which posterity have attributed to it, or extracted from it, than from what

the critic of modern days now perceives to have been the original meaning of the poet or philosopher. And it is singular, yet true, and a sort of economy in the education of the human race, that these new applications of the sayings of those of old time have derived a part of their authority by an illusion, from the names of those whose meaning they no longer convey.

ON THE CHARACTER OF ST. PAUL.

Οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.—Gal. iv. 13, 14.

THE narrative of the Gospel gives no full or perfect likeness of the character of the Apostles. Human beings do not admit of being constructed out of a single feature, nor is imagination able to supply details which are really wanting. St. Peter and St. John, the two Apostles whose names are most prominent in the Gospels and early portion of the Acts, both seem to unite two extremes in the same person; the character of St. John combining gentleness with vehemence, almost with fierceness; while in St. Peter we trace rashness and timidity at once, the spirit of freedom at one period of his life, and of narrowness and exclusiveness at another. He is the first to confess, and the first to deny Christ. Himself the captain of the Apostles, and yet wanting in the qualities necessary to constitute a leader. Such extremes may easily meet in the same person; but we do not possess sufficient knowledge to say how they were really reconciled. Each of the twelve Apostles grew up to the fulness of the stature of the perfect man. Even those who to us are little more than names, had individual features as lively as our own contemporaries. But the mention of their sayings or acts on four or five occasions while they followed the footsteps of the Lord on earth, and then on two or three occasions soon after He was taken from them, then once again at an interval of twelve or fourteen years, is not sufficient to enable us to judge of their whole character. We may

distinguish Peter from John, or James from either; but we cannot set them up as a study to be compared with each other.

More features appear of the character of St. Paul, yet not sufficient to give a perfect picture. We should lose the individuality which we have, by seeking to idealise and generalise from some more common type of Christian life. It has not been unusual to describe St. Paul as a man of resolute will, of untiring energy, of logical mind, of classic taste. He has been contrasted with the twelve as the educated with the uneducated, the student of Hebrew and Greek learning, brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel, with the fishermen of Galilee "mending their nets" by the lake. Powers of government have been attributed to him such as were required, and in some instances possessed, by the great leaders of the Church in later ages. He is imagined to have spoken with an accuracy hardly to be found in the systems of philosophers. Not of such an one would the Apostle himself "have gloried;" he would not have understood the praises of his commentators. It was not the wisdom of this world which he spoke, but "the hidden wisdom of God in a mystery." All his life long he felt himself to be one "whose strength was perfected in weakness;" he was aware of the impression of feebleness which his own appearance and discourse made upon his converts; who was sometimes in weakness and fear and trembling before them, "having the sentence of death in himself," and at other times "in power and the Holy Ghost and in much assurance;" and so far from having one unchanging purpose or insight, that though determined to know one thing only, "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," yet in his manner of teaching he wavers between opposite views or precepts in successive verses. He is ever feeling, if haply he may find them, after the hearts of men. He is carried away by sympathy, at times even for his opponents. He is struggling to describe what is in process of revelation to him. "Rude in speech but not in knowledge," as he himself says. The life of the Greek language had passed away, and it must have been a matter of effort for him to write in a foreign tongue, perhaps even to write at all; yet he puts

together words in his own characteristic way which are full of meaning, though often scattered in confusion over the page. He occasionally lights also on the happiest expressions, stamping old phrases in a new mould, and bringing forth the new out of the treasury of the old. Such are some of the individual traits which he has left in his Epistles; they are traits far more interesting and more like himself than any general image of heroism, or knowledge, or power, or goodness. Whatever other impression he might have made upon us, could we have seen him face to face, there can be little doubt that he would have left the impression of what was remarkable and uncommon.

There are questions which it is interesting to suggest, even when they can never receive a perfect and satisfactory answer. One of these questions may be asked respecting St. Paul:—"What was the relation in which his former life stood to the great fact of his conversion?" He himself, in looking back upon the times in which he persecuted the Church of God, thought of them chiefly as an increasing evidence of the mercy of God, which was afterwards extended to him. It seemed so strange to have been what he had been, and to be what he was. Nor does our own conception of him, in relation to his former self, commonly reach beyond this contrast of the old and new man; the persecutor and the preacher of the Gospel; the young man at whose feet the witnesses against Stephen laid down their clothes, and the same Paul disputing against the Grecians, full of visions and revelations of the Lord, on whom in later life came daily the care of all the Churches.

Yet we cannot but admit also the possibility, or rather the probable truth of another point of view. It is not unlikely that the struggle which he describes in the seventh chapter of the Romans is the picture of his own heart in the days when he "verily thought that he ought to do many things contrary to Jesus of Nazareth;" the impression of that earlier state, perhaps the image of the martyr Stephen (Acts, xxii. 20.), may have remained with him in after years. For men seem to carry about with them the elements of their former

lives; the character or nature which they once were, the circumstance which became a part of them, is not wholly abolished or done away; it remains, "even in the regenerate," as a sort of insoluble mass or incumbrance which prevents their freedom of action; in very few, or rather in none, can the old habit have perfect flexure to its new use. Everywhere, in the case of our acquaintance, who may have passed through great changes of opinion or conduct, we see from time to time the old nature which is underneath occasionally coming to the surface. Nor is it irreverent to attribute such remembrances of a former self even to inspired persons. If there were any among the contemporaries of St. Paul who had known him in youth and in age, they would have seen similarities which escape us in the character of the Apostle at different periods of his life. The zealot against the Gospel might have seemed to them transfigured into the opponent of the law; they would have found something in common in the Pharisee of the Pharisees, and the man who had a vow on his last journey to Jerusalem; they would perhaps have observed arguments, or quotations, or modes of speech in his writings which had been familiar to them and him in the school of Gamaliel. And when they heard of his conversion, they might have remarked that to one of his temperament only could such an event have happened, and would have noted many superficial resemblances which showed him to be the same man, while the great inward change which had overspread the world was hid from their eyes.

The gifts of God to man have ever some reference to natural disposition. He who becomes the servant of God does not thereby cease to be himself. Often the transition is greater in appearance than in reality, from the suddenness of its manifestation. There is a kind of rebellion against self and nature and God, which, through the mercy of God to the soul, seems almost necessarily to lead to re-acton. Persons have been worse than their fellow-men in outward appearance, and yet there was within them the spirit of a child waiting to return home to their father's house. A change passes upon them which we may figure to ourselves, not only as the new man

taking the place of the old, but as the inner man taking the place of the outer. So complex is human nature, that the very opposite to what we are has often an inexpressible power over us. Contrast is not only a law of association ; it is also a principle of action. Many run from one extreme to another, from licentiousness to the ecstasy of religious feeling, from religious feeling back to licentiousness, not without a "fearful looking for of judgment." If we could trace the hidden workings of good and evil, they would appear far less surprising and more natural than as they are seen by the outward eye. Our spiritual nature is without spring or chasm, but it has a certain play or freedom which leads very often to consequences the opposite of what we expect. It seems in some instances as if the same religious education had tended to contrary results ; in one case to a devout life, in another to a reaction against it ; sometimes to one form of faith, at other times to another. Many parents have wept to see the early religious training of their children draw them, by a kind of repulsion, to a communion or mode of opinion which is the extreme opposite of that in which they have been brought up. Let them have peace in the thought that it was not always in their power to fulfil the duty in which they seem to themselves to have failed. These latter reflections have but a remote bearing on the character of St. Paul ; but they serve to make us think that all spiritual influences, however antagonistic they may appear, have more in common with each other than they have with the temper of the world ; and that it is easier to pass from one form of faith to another than from leading the life of all men to either. There is more in common between those who anathematise each other than between either and the spirit of toleration which characterises the ordinary dealings of man and man, or much more the spirit of Christ, for whom they are alike contending.

Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in concluding, that those who have undergone great religious changes have been of a fervid imaginative cast of mind ; looking for more in this world than it was capable of yielding ; easily touched by the remembrance of the past, or inspired by some ideal of the future. When with this has been

combined a zeal for the good of their fellow-men, they have become the heralds and champions of the religious movements of the world. The change has begun within, but has overflowed without them. "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," is the order of nature and of grace. In secret they brood over their own state; weary and profitless their soul fainteth within them. The religion they profess is a religion not of life to them, but of death; they lose their interest in the world, and are cut off from the communion of their fellow-creatures. While they are musing, the fire kindles, and at the last—"they speak with their tongue." Then pours forth irrepressibly the pent-up stream—"unto all and upon all" their fellow-men; the intense flame of inward enthusiasm warms and lights up the world. First they are the evidence to others; then, again, others are the evidence to them. All religious leaders cannot be reduced to a single type of character; yet in all, perhaps, two characteristics may be observed; the first, great self-reflection; the second, intense sympathy with other men. They are not the creatures of habit or of circumstances, leading a blind life, unconscious of what they are; their whole effort is to realise their inward nature, and to make it palpable and visible to their fellows. Unlike other men who are confined to the circle of themselves or of their family, their affections are never straitened; they embrace with their love all men who are like-minded with them, almost all men too who are unlike them, in the hope that they may become like.

Such men have generally appeared at favourable conjunctures of circumstances, when the old was about to vanish away, and the new to appear. The world has yearned towards them, and they towards the world. They have uttered what all men were feeling; they have interpreted the age to itself. But for the concurrence of circumstances, they might have been stranded on the solitary shore, they might have died without a follower or convert. But when the world has needed them, and God has intended them for the world, they are endued with power from on high; they use all other men as their instruments, uniting them to themselves.

Often such men have been brought up in the faith which they afterwards oppose, and a part of their power has consisted in their acquaintance with the enemy. They see other men, like themselves formerly, wandering out of the way in the idol's temple, amid a burdensome ceremonial, with prayers and sacrifices unable to free the soul. They lead them by the way themselves came to the home of Christ. Sometimes they represent the new as the truth of the old; at other times as contrasted with it, as life and death, as good and evil, as Christ and anti-Christ. They relax the force of habit, they melt the pride and fanaticism of the soul. They suggest to others their own doubts, they inspire them with their own hopes, they supply their own motives, they draw men to them with cords of sympathy and bonds of love; they themselves seem a sufficient stay to support the world. Such was Luther at the Reformation; such, in a higher sense, was the Apostle St. Paul.

There have been heroes in the world, and there have been prophets in the world. The first may be divided into two classes; either they have been men of strong will and character, or of great power and range of intellect; in a few instances, combining both. They have been the natural leaders of mankind, compelling others by their acknowledged superiority as rulers and generals; or in the paths of science and philosophy, drawing the world after them by a yet more inevitable necessity. The prophet belongs to another order of beings: he does not master his thoughts; they carry him away. He does not see clearly into the laws of this world or the affairs of this world, but has a light beyond, which reveals them partially in their relation to another. Often he seems to be at once both the weakest and the strongest of men; the first to yield to his own impulses, the mightiest to arouse them in others. Calmness, or reason, or philosophy are not the words which describe the appeals which he makes to the hearts of men. He sways them to and fro rather than governs or controls them. He is a poet, and more than a poet, the inspired teacher of mankind; but the intellectual gifts which he possesses are independent of knowledge, or learning, or capacity; what they

are much more akin to is the fire and subtlety of genius. He, too, for a time, has ruled kingdoms and even led armies; "an Apostle, not of man, nor by men;" acting, not by authority or commission of any prince, but by an immediate inspiration from on high, communicating itself to the hearts of men.

Saul of Tarsus is called an Apostle rather than a prophet, because Hebrew prophecy belongs to an age of the world before Christianity. Now that in the Gospel that which is perfect is come, that which is in part is done away. Yet, in a secondary sense, the Apostle St. Paul is also "among the prophets." He, too, has "visions and revelations of the Lord," though he has not written them down "for our instruction," in which he would fain glory because they are not his own. Even to the outward eye he has the signs of a prophet. There is in him the same emotion, the same sympathy, the same "strength made perfect in weakness," the same absence of human knowledge, the same subtlety in the use of language, the same singleness in the delivery of his message. He speaks more as a man, and less immediately under the impulse of the Spirit of God; more to individuals, and less to the nation at large; he is less of a poet, and more of a teacher or preacher. But these differences do not interfere with the general resemblance. Like Isaiah, he bids us look to "the man of sorrows;" like Ezekiel, he arouses men to a truer sense of the ways of God in his dealings with them; like Jeremiah, he mourns over his countrymen; like all the prophets who have ever been, he is lifted above this world, and is "in the Spirit at the day of the Lord." (Rev. i. 10.)

Reflections of this kind are suggested by the absence of materials such as throw any light on the early life of St. Paul. All that we know of him before his conversion is summed up in two facts, "that the witnesses laid down their clothes with a young man whose name was Saul," and that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, one of the few Rabbinical teachers of Greek learning in the city of Jerusalem. We cannot venture to assign to him either the "choleric" or the "melancholic" temperament. [Tholuck.] We are unable to

determine what were his natural gifts or capacities; or how far, as we often observe to be the case, the gifts which he had were called out by the mission on which he was sent, or the theatre on which he felt himself placed "a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men." Far more interesting is it to trace the simple feelings with which he himself regarded his former life. "Last of all he was seen of me also, who am the least of the Apostles, that am not worthy to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." Yet there was a sense also that he was excusable, and that this was the reason why the mercy of God extended itself to him. "Yet I obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." And in one passage he dwells on the fact, not only that he had been an Israelite, but more, that after the strictest sect of the Jews' religion he lived a Pharisee, as though that were an evidence to himself, and should be so to others, that no human power could have changed him; that he was no half Jew, who had never properly known what the law was, but one who had both known and strictly practised it.

We are apt to judge extraordinary men by our own standard; that is to say, we often suppose them to possess, in an extraordinary degree, those qualities which we are conscious of in ourselves or others. This is the easiest way of conceiving their characters, but not the truest. They differ in kind rather than in degree. Even to understand them truly seems to require a power analogous to their own. Their natures are more subtle, and yet more simple, than we readily imagine. No one can read the ninth chapter of the First, or the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, without feeling how different the Apostle St. Paul must have been from good men among ourselves. We marvel how such various traits of character come together in the same individual. He who was "full of visions and revelations of the Lord," who spake with tongues more than they all, was not "mad, but uttered the words of truth and soberness." He who was the most enthusiastic of all men, was also the most prudent; the Apostle of freedom, and

yet the most moderate. He who was the strongest and most enlightened of all men, was also (would he have himself refrained from saying?) at times the weakest; on whom there came the care of all the Churches, yet seeming also to lose the power of acting in the absence of human sympathy.

Qualities so like and unlike are hard to reconcile; perhaps they have never been united in the same degree in any other human being. The contradiction in part arises not only from the Apostle being an extraordinary man, but from his being a man like ourselves in an extraordinary state. Creation was not to him that fixed order of things which it is to us; rather it was an atmosphere of evil just broken by the light beyond. To us the repose of the scene around contrasts with the turmoil of man's own spirit; to the Apostle peace was to be sought only from within, half hidden even from the inner man. There was a veil upon the heart itself which had to be removed. He himself seemed to fall asunder at times into two parts, the flesh and the spirit; and the world to be divided into two hemispheres, the one of the rulers of darkness, the other bright with that inward presence which should one day be revealed. In this twilight he lived. What to us is far off both in time and place, if such an expression may be allowed, to him was near and present, separated by a thin film from the world we see, ever ready to break forth and gather into itself the frame of nature. That sense of the invisible which to most men it is so difficult to impart, was like a second nature to St. Paul. He walked by faith, and not by sight; what was strange to him was the life he now led; which in his own often repeated language was death rather than life, the place of shadows and not of realities. The Greek philosophers spoke of a world of phenomena, of true being, of knowledge and opinion; and we know that what they meant by these distinctions is something different from the tenets of any philosophical school of the present day. But not less different is what St. Paul meant by the life hidden with Christ and God, the communion of the Spirit, the possession of the mind of Christ; only that this was not a mere

difference of speculation, but of practice also. Could any one say now,—“the life” not that I live, but that “Christ liveth in me”? Such language with St. Paul is no mere phraseology, such as is repeated from habit in prayers, but the original consciousness of the Apostle respecting his own state. Self is banished from him, and has no more place in him, as he goes on his way to fulfil the work of Christ. No figure is too strong to express his humiliation in himself, or his exaltation in Christ.

Could we expect this to be otherwise when we think of the manner of his conversion? Could he have looked upon the world with the same eyes that we do, or heard its many voices with the same ears, who had been caught up into the seventh heaven, whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell? (2 Cor. xii. 1–5.) Must not his life have seemed to him a revelation, an inspiration, an ecstasy? Once and again he had seen the face of Christ, and heard Him speak from heaven. All that followed in the Apostle’s history was the continuation of that first wonder, a stream of light flowing from it, “planting eyes” in his soul, transfiguring him “from glory to glory,” clothing him with the elect “in the exceeding glory.”

Yet this glory was not that of the princes of this world, “who come to nought;” it is another image which he gives us of himself;—not the figure on Mars’ hill, in the cartoons of Raphael, nor the orator with noble mien and eloquent gesture before Festus and Agrippa; but the image of one lowly and cast down, whose “bodily presence was weak, and speech contemptible;” of one who must have appeared to the rest of mankind like a visionary, pierced by the thorn in the flesh, “waiting for the redemption of the body.” The saints of the middle ages are in many respects unlike St. Paul, and yet many of them bear a far closer resemblance to him than is to be found in Luther and the Reformers. The points of resemblance which we seem to see in them, are the same withdrawal from the things of earth, the same ecstasy, the same consciousness of the person of Christ. Who would describe Luther by the words “cruci-

fied with Christ?" It is in another manner that the Reformer was called upon to war, with weapons earthly as well as spiritual, with a strong right hand and a mighty arm.

There have been those who, although deformed by nature, have worn the expression of a calm and heavenly beauty; in whom the flashing eye has attested the presence of thought in the poor withered and palsied frame. There have been others again, who have passed the greater part of their lives in extreme bodily suffering, who have, nevertheless, directed states or led armies, the keenness of whose intellect has not been dulled nor their natural force of mind abated. There have been those also on whose faces men have gazed "as upon the face of an angel," while they pierced or stoned them. Of such an one, perhaps, the Apostle himself might have gloried; not of those whom men term great or noble. He who felt the whole creation groaning and travailing together until now was not like the Greek drinking in the life of nature at every pore. He who through Christ was "crucified to the world, and the world to him," was not in harmony with nature, nor nature with him. The manly form, the erect step, the fulness of life and beauty, could not have gone along with such a consciousness as this, any more than the taste for literature and art could have consisted with the thought, "not many wise, not many learned, not many mighty." Instead of these we have the visage marred more than the sons of men, "the cross of Christ which was to the Greeks foolishness," the thorn in the flesh, the marks in the body of the Lord Jesus.

Often the Apostle St. Paul has been described as a person the furthest removed from enthusiasm; incapable of spiritual illusion; by his natural temperament averse to credulity or superstition. By such considerations as these a celebrated author confesses himself to have been converted to the belief in Christianity. And yet, if it is intended to reduce St. Paul to the type of what is termed "good sense" in the present day, it must be admitted that the view which thus describes him is but partially true. Far nearer the truth is that other quaint notion of a modern writer, "that St. Paul was the finest

gentleman that ever lived ;” for no man had nobler forms of courtesy or a deeper regard for the feelings of others. But “good sense” is a term not well adapted to express either the individual or the age and country in which he lived. He who wrought miracles, who had handkerchiefs carried to him from the sick, who spake with tongues more than they all, who lived amid visions and revelations of the Lord, who did not appeal to the Gospel as a thing long settled, but himself saw the process of revelation actually going on before his eyes, and communicated it to his fellow-men, could never have been such an one as ourselves. Nor can we pretend to estimate whether, in the modern sense of the term, he was capable of weighing evidence, or how far he would have attempted to sever between the workings of his own mind and the Spirit which was imparted to him.

What has given rise to this conception of the Apostle’s character has been the circumstance, that with what the world terms mysticism and enthusiasm are united a singular prudence and moderation, and a perfect humanity, searching the feelings and knowing the hearts of all men. “I became all things to all men that I might win some ;” not only, we may believe, as a sort of accommodation, but as the expression of the natural compassion and love which he felt for them. There is no reason to suppose that the Apostle took any interest in the daily life of men, in the great events which were befalling the Roman Empire, or in the temporal fortunes of the Jewish people. But when they came before him as sinners, lying in darkness and the shadow of God’s wrath, ignorant of the mystery that was being revealed before their eyes, then his love was quickened for them, then they seemed to him as his kindred and brethren; there was no sacrifice too great for him to make; he was willing to die with Christ, yea, even to be accursed from Him that he might “save some of them.”

Mysticism, or enthusiasm, or intense benevolence and philanthropy, seem to us, as they commonly are, at variance with worldly prudence and moderation. But in the Apostle these different and

contrasted qualities are mingled and harmonised. The mother watching over the life of her child, has all her faculties aroused and stimulated; she knows almost by instinct how to say or do the right thing at the right time; she regards his faults with mingled love and sorrow. So, in the Apostle, we seem to trace a sort of refinement or nicety of feeling, when he is dealing with the souls of men. All his knowledge of mankind shows itself for their sakes; and yet not that knowledge of mankind which comes from without, revealing itself by experience of men and manners, by taking a part in events, by the insensible course of years making us learn from what we have seen and suffered. There is another experience that comes from within, which begins with the knowledge of self, with the consciousness of our own weakness and infirmities; which is continued in love to others and in works of good to them; which grows by singleness and simplicity of heart. Love becomes the interpreter of how men think, and feel, and act; and supplies the place of, or passes into a worldly prudence wiser than, the prudence of this world. Such is the worldly prudence of St. Paul.

Once more; there is in the Apostle, not only prudence and knowledge of the human heart, but a kind of subtlety of moderation, which considers every conceivable case, and balances one with another; in the last resort giving no rule, but allowing all to be superseded by a more general principle. An instance of this subtle moderation is his determination, or rather omission to determine the question of meats and drinks, which he first regards as indifferent, secondly, as depending on men's own conscience, and this again as limited by the consciences of others, and lastly resolves all these finer precepts into the general principle, "Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." The same qualification of one principle by another recurs again in his rules respecting marriage. First, "do not marry unbelievers," and "let not the wife depart from her husband." But if you are married and the unbeliever is willing to remain, then the spirit of the second precept must prevail over the first. Only in an extreme case, where both parties are willing to

dissolve the tie, the first principle in turn may again supersede the second. It may be said in the one case, "your children are holy;" in the other, "What knowest thou, O wife, if thou shalt save thy husband?" In a similar spirit he withdraws his censure on the incestuous person, lest such an one, criminal as he was, should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. There is a religious aspect of either course of conduct, and either may be right under given circumstances. So the kingdoms of this world admit of being regarded almost as the kingdom of God, in reference to our duties towards their rulers; and yet touching the going to law before unbelievers, we are to think rather of that other kingdom in which we shall judge angels.

The Gospel, it has been often remarked, lays down principles rather than rules. The passages in the Epistles of St. Paul which seem to be exceptions to this statement, are exceptions in appearance rather than reality. They are relative to the circumstances of those whom he is addressing. He who became "all things to all men," would have been the last to insist on temporary regulations for his converts being made the rule of Christian life in all ages. His manner of Church government is so unlike a rule or law, that we can hardly imagine how the Apostle, if he could return to earth, would combine the freedom of the Gospel with the requirements of Christianity as an established institution. He is not a bishop administering a regular system, but a person dealing immediately with other persons out of the fulness of his own mind and nature. His writings are like spoken words, temporary, occasional, adapted to other men's thoughts and feelings, yet not without an eternal meaning. In sending his instructions to the Churches he is ever with them, and seems to follow in his mind's eye their working and effect; whither his Epistles go he goes in thought, absent, in his own language, "in the body, but present in spirit." What he says to the Churches, he seems to make them say: what he directs them to do, they are to do in that common spirit in which they are united with him; if they live he lives; time and distance never snap the cord of sympathy. His government of them is a sort of communion

with them ; a receiving of their feelings and a pouring forth of his own : he is the heart or pulse which beats through the Christian world.

And with this communion of himself and his converts, this care of daily life, there mingles the vision of "the great family in heaven and earth," "the Church which is his body," in which the meaner reality is enfolded or wrapt up, "sphered in a radiant cloud," even in its low estate. The language of the Epistles often exercises an illusion on our minds when thinking of the primitive Church ; individuals perhaps there were who truly partook of that light with which the Apostle encircled them ; there may have been those in the Churches of Corinth, or Ephesus, or Galatia, who were living on earth the life of heaven. But the ideal which fills the Apostle's mind has not, necessarily, a corresponding fact in the actual state of his converts. The beloved family of the Apostle, the Church of which such "glorious things are told," is often in tumult and disorder. His love is constantly a source of pain to him : he watches over them "with a godly jealousy," and finds them "affecting others rather than himself." They are always liable to be "spoiled" by some vanity of philosophy, some remembrance of Judaism, which, like an epidemic, carries off whole Churches at once, and seems to exercise a fatal power over them. He is a father harrowed and agonised in his feelings ; he loves more and suffers more than other men ; he will not think, he cannot help thinking, of the ingratitude and insolence of his children ; he tries to believe, he is persuaded, that all is well ; he denounces, he forgives ; he defends himself, he is ashamed of defending himself ; he is the herald of his own deeds when others neglect or injure him ; he is ashamed of this too, and retires into himself, to be at peace with Christ and God. So we seem to read the course of the Apostle's thoughts in more than one passage of his writings, beginning with the heavenly ideal, and descending to the painful realities of actual life, especially at the close of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,—altogether, perhaps, the most characteristic picture of the Apostle's mind ; and in the last words to the

Galatians, "Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

Great men (those, at least, who present to us the type of earthly greatness) are sometimes said to possess the power of command, but not the power of entering into the feelings of others. They have no fear of their fellows, they are not affected by their opinions or prejudices, but neither are they always capable of immediately impressing them, or of perceiving the impression which their words or actions make upon them. Often they live in a kind of solitude on which other men do not venture to intrude; putting forth their strength on particular occasions, careless or abstracted about the daily concerns of life. Such was not the greatness of the Apostle St. Paul; not only in the sense in which he says that "he could do all things through Christ," but in a more earthly and human one, was it true, that his strength was his weakness and his weakness his strength. His dependence on others was also the source of his influence over them. His natural character was the type of that communion of the Spirit which he preached; the meanness of appearance which he attributes to himself, the image of that contrast which the Gospel presents to human greatness. Glorifying and humiliation; life and death; a vision of angels strengthening him, the "thorn in the flesh" rebuking him; the greatest tenderness, not without sternness; sorrows above measure, consolations above measure; are some of the contradictions which were reconciled in the same man. It is not a long life of ministerial success on which he is looking back a little before his death, where he says, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." These words are sadly illustrated by another verse of the same Epistle, "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me." (2 Tim. i. 15.) So when the contrast was at its height, he passed away, rejoicing in persecution also, and "filling up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake." Many, if not most, of his followers had forsaken him, and there is no certain memorial of the manner of his death. Let us look once more a little closer at that

“visage marred” in his Master’s service, as it appeared about three years before on a well known scene. A poor aged man, worn by some bodily or mental disorder, who had been often scourged, and bore on his face the traces of indignity and sorrow in every form—such an one, led out of prison between Roman soldiers, probably at times faltering in his utterance, the creature, as he seemed to spectators, of nervous sensibility; yearning, almost with a sort of fondness, to save the souls of those whom he saw around him*,—spoke a few eloquent words in the cause of Christian truth, at which kings were awed, telling the tale of his own conversion with such simple pathos, that after ages have hardly heard the like.

Such is the image, not which Christian art has delighted to consecrate, but which the Apostle has left in his own writings of himself; an image of true wisdom, and nobleness, and affection, but of a wisdom unlike the wisdom of this world; of a nobleness which must not be transformed into that of the heroes of the world; an affection which seemed to be as strong and as individual towards all mankind, as other men are capable of feeling towards a single person.

“The Thorn in the Flesh.”

“It seems that as he entered into manhood, he had to fight a hard battle with his animal passions. On one side temptation assailed him powerfully, and on the other his ardent love for all that was good and noble held him back from the paths of vice. He was accustomed to rise from his bed at the earliest dawn, and kneeling before the altar, pray there to God for help and strength. He implored that a check might be given to these desires, that some affliction might be sent him to keep him always armed against temptation, and that the spirit might be enabled to master the weakness of the body. Heaven granted his prayer, and sent this sickness

* Gal. ii. 20., iv. 14., vi. 17.; 1 Cor. xv. 32.; 2 Cor. i. 9., vi. 12., x. 10., xi. 23—27., xii. 7—10.; Phil. ver. 9.

to him, which Asser describes as a kind of fit. For many years he suffered excruciating pain from it, so that he often despaired of his own life. One day, whilst hunting in Cornwall, he alighted at the chapel of St. Guerir, in the solitude of a rocky valley, where St. Neot afterwards took refuge and died. The prince, who from a child loved to visit all sacred places, prostrated himself before the altar in silent prayer to God for mercy. He had long been oppressed by a dread of being unfitted for his royal office by his bodily infirmities, or of becoming an object of contempt in the eyes of men by leprosy and blindness. This fear now inspired him to implore deliverance from such misery; he was ready to bear any less severe, nay any other trial, so that he might be enabled to fulfil his appointed duties. Not long after his return from that hunting expedition, an answer was vouchsafed to his fervent prayer, and the malady departed from him.

“And now at the moment of his marriage, when the wedding guests were feasting and rejoicing in the banquet-hall, that other trial came for which he had prayed. Anguish and trembling suddenly took hold upon him, and from that time to the date when Asser wrote, and indeed during his whole life, he was never secure from an attack of this disease. There were seasons when it seemed to incapacitate him for the discharge of any duty temporal or spiritual, but an interval of ease, though it lasted only a night, or a day, or even an hour, would always re-establish his powers. In spite of these bodily afflictions, which probably were of an epileptic nature, the inflexible strength of his will enabled him to rise above the heaviest cares that were ever laid on a sovereign.” — *Pauli's Life of Alfred*.

This is a remarkable parallel. The words of Luther should be added: “Ah! no, dear Paul, it was not that manner of temptation that troubled thee.”

CHAP. V. VI.

IN the Third Section of the Epistle the Apostle proceeds to the application of the argument which has gone before:—"Ye are not the children of the bondwoman, but of the free; with that freedom Christ has made you free; stand, therefore, and be not again entangled in the yoke of bondage to the law." This is enforced by a personal appeal, in which the Apostle sets forth with great earnestness the contrariety of the law and Christ. He who receives the seal of the law is involved in all its obligations. He is not half Jew and half believer in Christ, but wholly a Jew and no longer a believer. The law and Christ (like the law and the promise) are exclusive of each other. For the life of the Spirit, which is in Christ, has nothing to do with circumcision or uncircumcision; it is different in kind from either (1—6.).

The latter portion of nearly all the Epistles of St. Paul is remarkable for abruptness of style. The Apostle passes from one subject to another, dropping the intervening links by which they are associated in his own mind. New thoughts are suddenly introduced; old ones unexpectedly come back again. His manner is that of a person speaking rather than writing; he is full of animation, saying what occurs to him without always expressing the point which he intends. In the verses that follow (7—13.), contrary emotions draw him different ways; and he seems almost to lose the power of arranging his words. There was a time, he would say, when you promised well; who has persuaded you to rebel? This persuasion is not of God; it is a delusion of the enemy. The error of a few leavens the mass. Looking forward in faith, I perceive that ye will

hereafter be of one mind, and that the troublers of the Church shall themselves be the sufferers. And yet, brethren, when I think of their strange and inconsistent charges against myself, I cannot but feel indignant. Is it likely that they would persecute me if I still preached circumcision? And then, with a momentary feeling of disgust at the whole subject, he adds in irony:—Would that they would make themselves eunuchs who trouble you! That would indeed cut off the matter in dispute.

For the Divine call which you received is very different from the call which they teach. It was a calling unto liberty; I do not mean licentiousness, but that liberty which is a service of love to one another. For love is the single word which fulfils the law. How unlike are ye to the servants of that law! the end of whose bickerings and jealousies is mutual destruction (13—15.).

All my precepts may be summed up in one:—"Walk in the Spirit and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh." For there are two ways; the way of the flesh, and the way of the Spirit: and these are contrary the one to the other, and their fruits are like them (16—24.). We who are spiritual should walk in the Spirit, humbling our hearts in consideration of others, forgiving their slips and bearing their burdens. It is mere self-deception to think ourselves above this. Every man who tries himself will find he has a burden of his own. A particular instance of this duty of mutual support is the duty of supporting teachers, in which, as in all other Christian duties, we must be single and indefatigable, ready to do good to all men, and especially to members of the Church (v. 24—vi. 10.).

Look, says the Apostle, at the large and misshapen letters which I am tracing with mine own hand. A word more, and I have done. Those who would have you circumcised, act only on motives of expediency; their object is to keep well with the Jewish Christians; their own inconsistency in the observance of the law is a sufficient proof that they desire only to glory in you as their disciples. But God forbid that I should glory in you, or in anything

but that which is at the same time the symbol of humiliation, the cross of Christ. The question of circumcision or uncircumcision I count as nothing in comparison with a change of heart. This is my rule. Peace be upon them who walk by it, and are "Israelites indeed."

Reverence me henceforth ; for I bear the person of Christ, and fill up the measure of His sufferings. The grace of Christ be with your spirit.

τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ¹ ἡμᾶς χριστὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν. στήκετε οὖν ², 5
καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, χρι- 2
στὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει· μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ 3

¹ Add οὖν ᾧ.

² Om. οὖν.

V. Most of St. Paul's Epistles terminate with a practical application. This application commences, in the Epistle to the Galatians, with the present chapter. Yet here, too, the thread of doctrine reappears in v. 17, 18., vi. 15.

The main subject of the Epistle has been "the liberty of the Gospel." No terms can be too strong to express its value; it is impossible to over estimate the danger of yielding the least point which implies or involves the whole. But even this first principle of the faith of Christ has an error or exaggeration which follows in its train; and at verse 13. the Apostle goes on to present the reverse side also. Liberty may become the cloak of licentiousness, just as the doctrine of grace may lead men to continue in sin. Freedom from the law is good, but this freedom must be also in a higher sense a fulfilment of the law in love. That fulfilment of the law is given by the Spirit, which leads not merely to a barren abstraction of freedom, but to walking in the Spirit, and bringing forth the works of the Spirit. As in Rom. viii. 5—16., the Apostle draws out the nature of the Spirit in contrast with the flesh.

1. There is great variation of reading in this verse. The principal differences are those adopted into their respective editions by

Lachmann and Tischendorf:—
τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ᾧ ἡμᾶς χριστὸς ἡλευ-
θέρωσεν στήκετε, καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ
δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. Tisch.; and τῇ
ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς χριστὸς ἡλευθέρω-
σεν. στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυ-
γῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. Lach.; out
of the confusion of which the
common reading appears to have
arisen, which places the οὖν after
ἐλευθερίᾳ. Lachmann's reading is
the more spirited, though not
wholly free from objections, the
greatest being the use of the
cognate word after ἡλευθέρωσεν,
without an adjective. This may
be avoided by taking τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ
in close connection with the pre-
ceding verse, "With this liberty
Christ made us free;" that is,
with the liberty which belongs to
us as the children of the free.

στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.,
*Stand therefore, and be not again
entangled with the yoke of bon-
dage.*] Why "again"? Because
they had been under the law
previously, though whether any
of them had become proselytes,
as we only know of their previous
state from the allusions of the
Epistle, is uncertain. We cannot
suppose that either here or at
iv. 9. (see notes) St. Paul uses
these expressions merely from a
warmth of temperament, which
makes him speak from his own
point of view rather than that of
his converts. Modern writers
have delighted to trace an analogy
between the prior state of Jew

- 5 With that freedom Christ hath made us free. Stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.¹
- 2 Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circum-
- 3 cised, Christ shall profit you nothing. And* I testify

¹ Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

and Gentile:—"God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past to the fathers by the prophets," according to the strained interpretation which has been sometimes put upon these words: or as the same thought has been expressed by Goethe from a very different point of view, "The Mosaic religion was the first of the Ethnic religions, but still Ethnic." But there is no proof that the Apostle, casting his eyes over the past, regarded all mankind as subject to one prior dispensation. That unity is the peculiar characteristic of the Gospel:—"There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, but all one in Christ Jesus."

2. "Ἰδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν."] The Apostle repeats his own name, as an expression of earnestness. Compare 2 Cor. x. 1. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος παρόκαλῶ ὑμᾶς. 1 Thess. ii. 18.; Phil. ver. 19.

ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, *that if ye be circumcised.*] The Apostle himself was a living witness that it was possible for one who was circumcised to be a disciple of Christ, and his companion Timothy had been circumcised by his command. Is it not extravagant, then, that he should say to the Galatians, "if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing?" At that time, under the particular circumstances of the

Church, he felt the question to be one of life and death, of Judaism and of Christianity;—was the principle of the Gospel to be spiritual or carnal? was the cross of Christ to be hindered by external obligations? The Galatians had begun with Judaism, but they "had gone on to perfection." Now the Judaizing teachers were trying to persuade them that this perfection was a narrower observance of Judaism, that Christianity was only circumcision. They were to become proselytes of righteousness, instead of proselytes of the gate. This is what the Apostle denounces as irreconcilable with the Gospel.

3. μαρτύρομαι δέ, *and I testify.*] In the same earnest tone the Apostle proceeds to urge the argument from consistency. If the Gentiles compel themselves "to live as do the Jews," they must do so wholly. Circumcision was the sign and pledge that they would keep the law, not in one point only, but in all. It was the seal of another master, who enforced entire obedience. He who was circumcised had no part in Christ or Christ in him. Or, if we take the words more generally, and omit the further allusion,—the performing of a single point of the law implied the principle of obedience to the law, and in practice was liable to lead to it. Obedience to the

ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον
ποιῆσαι. κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ¹ χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δι- 4
καιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ 5
πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα· ἐν γὰρ χριστῷ 6
Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ
πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.

Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πεί- 7

¹ Add τοῦ.

law could not coexist with the principle of salvation through Christ, which did not by any means remit obedience, but required an obedience of a higher and different kind.

In other passages, the Apostle exhorts men to overlook lesser points of difference, such as the eating of meat or herbs, the observance of days, the eating of meats offered to idols; Rom. xiv., 1 Cor. viii. In such cases, the double rule of faith and charity should operate; it is quite consistent to be free from scruples ourselves, and yet to be tender to those of others. But there are cases in which it is equally important to yield nothing, because the very least concession implies everything. The principle expressed in the words, "I will eat no meat as long as the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend," has to be balanced and modified by the other principle, "I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to keep the whole law." And the Spirit of both must be at last regulated by the words which follow:—"Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." Compare Es- say on Casuistry.

δέ is adversative, not to the

preceding verse, but to the doctrine which the Apostle is opposing; as in 1 Thess. ii. 16. he is answering his own thought.

πάλιν] referring to the preceding verse; compare iv. 9.

περιτεμνομένῳ.] "Who is circumcised;" or, with a more distinct expression of the form of the present, who "is being circumcised."

The word ὀφειλέτης is possibly suggested by the sound of ὠφελήσει, just before. Compare Rom. xii. 13, 14.; infra vi. 9, 10.

4. καταργεῖν, in its original meaning, signifies to annul or do away with; and hence with ἀπό, to destroy or annul the connection of two things. Comp. iii. 17.; Rom. vii. 2—6.

5. It is an obsolete fiction of interpreters to say that γάρ is here put for δέ. St. Paul could not have meant by γάρ, "but our case is different." γάρ truly expresses the reason of what preceded, regarded from a peculiar point of view. "For we, the true believers, are different from you, and look for the hope of righteousness through faith." The harshness of the ellipse may be further softened by supposing πνεύματι to correspond to σαρκί or some similar expression understood in the preceding verses. For a like use of γάρ in con-

again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a
 4 debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no
 effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the
 5 law; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the
 6 Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For
 in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing,
 nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.
 7 Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should

trast, comp. Rom. i. 18.; Gal. iii.
 10.

πνεύματι, by the Spirit.] The Spirit is the communion of the Spirit of God, of which all are partakers, faith being the link which joins us to this communion, whereby we wait for the hope of righteousness: *ἐλπεις δικαιοσύνης* may mean either the hope which righteousness entertains, or the hope which is righteousness.

6. *ἐν γὰρ χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.*] The connection of this verse is made by *πίστις*, which refers to *ἐκ πίστεως* in the preceding. For we by faith wait for the hope of righteousness; for, with the believer who dwells in Christ, it is faith only that avails, and not circumcision or uncircumcision. Compare vi. 15. The train of thought is slightly obscured by the Apostle, as his manner is, having first expressed negatively what he afterwards expresses positively.

δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.] There is no trace in the writings of St. Paul of the opposition of faith and love which is found in Luther. Such an opposition did not exist in the language of Christ and his Apostles. It came from the schools; Luther was driven to adopt it by the exigencies of controversy. At some point or other it was necessary to draw a

line between the Catholic and Reformed doctrine of justification. Was it to include works as well as faith? but, if not, was love to be a coefficient in the work of justification? Luther felt this difficulty, and tried to preserve the doctrine from the alloy of self-righteousness and external acts by the formula of "faith only."

The necessity has passed away, and Christian feeling and the common sense of mankind find a truer reflection in the indefinite language of Scripture itself. Whether we say that we are justified by faith, or by love, or by faith working by love or by grace, or by the indwelling of Christ, or of the Spirit of Christ,—the difference is one of words, and not of things. For although these distinctions admit of being defined by logic, and have been made the basis of opposing systems of theology, the point of view in which the writers of Scripture regard them is not that of difference, but of sameness. The words of St. Paul are equally far removed from a protest against Protestant doctrine and against Catholic doctrine; they belong to another world.

7. *Ἐπρέχετε καλῶς.*] The Apostle proceeds in a mixed tone of censure and praise:—"You were

οεσθαι ; ἡ πεισμονὴ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς. μικρὰ ⁸
 ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. ἐγὼ [δέ] ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² 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8 not obey the truth? This persuasion cometh not of
 9 him that calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole
 10 lump. Howbeit¹ I have confidence in you through the
 Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded: but he
 that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever
 11 he be. But I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision,
 why do I yet suffer persecution? then has* the offence of

¹ Om. Howbeit.

law unnecessary which thou thyself practisest?" Such a charge may have been his enemies' mode of expressing that to the Jews he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews. (1 Cor. ix. 20.) Comp. vi. 13., where he retorts the inconsistency that "neither do they who are circumcised keep the law;" also, ii. 14., iv. 21.; and for the adversative *δέ*, vi. 14.

There is no reason to mistrust the meaning of plain words because we know nothing of the circumstance to which they allude.

Similar covert answers to other charges occur in the Epistles to the Corinthians. (1 Cor. ix. 1. 7.; 2 Cor. x. 7.) At Corinth, too, he seems to have been accused, amid many other calumnies, of not "being of Christ" in that special sense in which his opponents claimed to be so. Had we that other Epistle which the Church at Corinth addressed to the Apostle, it would furnish a remarkable commentary on the two Epistles to the Corinthians. Had we the other side of the controversy with the Galatians, the obscurity which rests on several passages of the Epistle would probably be removed.

A difficulty remains respecting the connection of the eleventh verse with what precedes. Two

trains of thought appear to meet in it: first, Why am I persecuted? but secondly, My persecution is a disproof of the charge that I yet preach circumcision. In the last verse it is declared that the troubler shall bear his burden; that suggests the thought, "But why should I bear a burden?" Still we have to seek a connection for the words, "if I preach circumcision," which it has been suggested might be given, by supposing that this very charge was brought by the person of whom he has been speaking. It is better to leave the connection than to seek to find one in suppositions which can neither be proved nor disproved. The first *ἐτι* may refer to the form in which the Galatians brought their charge against him: "You still preach circumcision yourself," implying a reference not denied by himself (2 Cor. v. 16.) to a time when the tone of his preaching or practice had been different, when, according to another enigmatical expression, "he knew Christ according to the flesh." (Compare Introduction to 1 Thessalonians.) The second *ἐτι* may be explained "why notwithstanding," or "why after this fact."

ἀρα καθίργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ] may be read without difference of meaning, either with

σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀνα- 12
στατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.

Ἔμεις γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ 13
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης
δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλή- 14
ρωται¹, ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. 15
εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῇτε.

¹ πληροῦται.

or without a question. In either case it is most agreeable to the connection to take the words ironically:—"Then you have nothing more to say against me, I am to infer; or, Am I to infer that the offence of the cross has ceased?" It is observable that, not Christ Himself, but the cross of Christ, is spoken of as the peculiar object of Jewish hatred. The reason seems to be, that it was the symbol of that Gospel which was most opposed to the belief in a Jewish Messiah; that Gospel which was preached by St. Paul among the Gentiles. Even in St. John there are not many allusions to the cross or to the death of Christ, in comparison with the allusions to his birth and life. The Word becoming flesh is the great theme; not the doctrine of the cross, which is spoken of as a sign rather of the exaltation of Christ than of His humiliation. "As Moses lifted up the serpent;" and "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, shall draw all men after me." It is otherwise with St. Paul; that which expresses his innermost feeling respecting the truth, which most perfectly describes the contrast of the Gospel with the world, which is the most complete condemnation of the

law, which seems also to be the figure or rather the reality of his own suffering state, is—the cross of Christ.

12. ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται.] Would that they would make themselves eunuchs who trouble you; that they would not only circumcise, (καί) but make themselves incapable of the privileges of circumcision! Such is the common interpretation of the Fathers, confirmed by the use of language in the LXX. Compare Deut. xxiii. 1.: οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται θλαδίας οὐδὲ ἀποκεκομμένος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου. The authorised translation fails—(1.) in giving a passive sense to the middle form; and (2.) in the meaning which it assigns to the verb, which, though a literal translation of ἀποκόπτειν, is here used in a different sense from that in which the word "cut off" is the interpretation of the Greek.

The irony of the passage is in some degree illustrated by Phil. iii. 2. (περιτομή and κατατομή), where the Apostle not only uses the word περιτομή in a spiritual sense; but adopts another word, with no religious association, to signify the mere outward act or operation. Compare also Matt. xix. 12.

- 12 the cross ceased. I would that they would even make themselves* eunuchs which trouble you.
- 13 For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not your* liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but
- 14 by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neigh-
- 15 bour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

13. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε.] For a moment the style changes from passionate exhortation to argument:—"For the Gospel which they preach is very different from the Gospel of freedom whereunto ye are called." So, above, the Apostle recalls the time of their conversion as a remembrance likely to affect them (iii. 2). ἐπί, as in Heb. viii. 6. and elsewhere, without distinction of the condition and object.

The freedom of the Gospel implies—(1.) the freedom from the burden of ordinances; (2.) from the consciousness of sin; (3.) also, the communion of the Spirit, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." It is a new power and gift, as well as an absence of old restraints.

μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν.] Yet remember that this liberty to which you are called is not the freedom of the flesh. Your liberty is also a service, the service to one another through love.

In the Epistle to the Romans, the Gospel is spoken of as the law of the spirit of life; a similar turn is here given to the freedom of the Gospel, [which may be looked on in a different light as a service also. Comp. Rom. vi. 22.:—"When ye were freed from

sin, ye were made the servants of righteousness."

The best way of explaining the construction by the rules of grammar is to take τὴν ἐλευθερίαν as an accusative in apposition with the previous sentence: "that calling unto liberty;" although in the New Testament it is, perhaps, better still to leave the analogy of classical Greek, and be satisfied with the broken sentence.

14. For the whole law is fulfilled in the performance of a single precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Compare Rom. xiii. 8.: ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκε. πεπλήρωται is an instance of the emphatic use of the præsens perfectum, which may be paralleled with the emphatic use of the future perfect.

The law had been the source of the divisions which arose in the Galatian Church; and yet, what was the law?—nothing but the command to love one another. Again the Apostle turns the meaning of words inside out: he seems to say,—"Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?" It condemns you.

15. But if ye bite and devour each other, see whether this must not end in your mutual destruc-

Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ 16
 μὴ τελέσητε. ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ 17
 δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός· ταῦτα γὰρ ¹ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκει-
 ται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ [ἐὰν] ² θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῇτε. εἰ δὲ πνεύματι 18
 ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον. φανερά δέ ἐστιν τὰ ἔργα τῆς 19
 σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν, ³ πορνεία ἀκαθαρσία ἀσέλγεια εἰδωλο- 20
 λατρεία φαρμακεία ἔχθραι ἔρις ζῆλος ⁴ θυμοὶ ἐριθείαι διχο-

¹ δέ.² ἂν.³ Add μοιχεία.⁴ ἔρεις ζῆλοι.

tion. It was another purpose than this for which the law was given. So, at least, we may point the Apostle's words, although they are more characteristic if left pointless.

16. St. Paul proceeds to view the question more generally and less personally, and seems to pass from the flesh as the seat of the Jewish dispensation, to the flesh as the source of impurity. As in Rom. viii. 4. those who walk according to the flesh are opposed to those who walk according to the Spirit, so here the life of the Spirit extinguishes and renders powerless the desire of the flesh.

The dative after περιπατεῖτε is probably a confusion of the dative of the instrument, and the common use of περιπατεῖν with ἐν. Comp. Acts, xxi. 21.; and infra, ver. 25.

17. Compare Rom. vii. 15—20. For the flesh and the spirit are opposed to each other, the design of which is to prevent you from doing as you would.

It seems strange at first sight, to say that the flesh and the Spirit are opposed to each other by design, and we feel inclined to imagine that this is one of those passages in which ἵνα is used to denote result rather than design. But the strict gramma-

tical sense appears also most in accordance with the view of St. Paul, who regards the strife of the flesh and the Spirit as intended by Providence to pave the way for the reception of the truth. Compare Rom. v. 20.

ἵνα μὴ ἂ [ἐὰν] θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῇτε.] As in Rom. vii. St. Paul is speaking of the struggle of human nature with itself,—“the things that I would not in my better nature, those I do.”

18. The key to this verse is again given by Rom. vii. The state which the Apostle has been describing is that which he there explains as the state of those under the law. From doing the things they would not men are delivered by the guidance of the Spirit,—“the law of the Spirit of life makes them free from the law of sin and death.” The law, sin, death, the struggle of the Spirit against the flesh,—all express different aspects of the same condition of human nature, the last extremity of misery and variance with self. From this old man he who is in the Spirit is already free.

19. Two classes of sins are included under the term “sins of the flesh,” corresponding to the division of θυμός and ἐπιθυμία in Greek philosophy, or more appropriately to the two meanings of

16 Now* I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall
 17 not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth
 against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for¹
 these are contrary the one to the other: in order that ye
 18 may* not do the things that ye would. But if ye be led
 19 of the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works
 of the flesh are manifest, which are these;² fornication,
 20 uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred,
 variance, emulation³, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies,

¹ And.² Add adultery.³ Emulations.

σάρξ, as the symbol of the Jewish dispensation and the seat of human passions; they are—first, divisions; secondly, sins of impurity.

πορνεία is used in the New Testament—(1.) for fornication, 1 Cor. vi. 13. 18.; also (2.) for incest, 1 Cor. v. 1. As marriage is the symbol of the Church, so in the New Testament there is a mystery of iniquity in sins of impurity. Fornication is a sin against the Holy Ghost who sanctifies the body.

[μοιχεία, which occurs in one or two MSS. of inferior note, as the first in this list of sins, as also φόνος in ver. 21., is spurious.]

For similar lists of sins comp. Rom. i. 29.; Matt. xvi. 9.; Mark, vii. 21. The order in which they are arranged seems to arise partly out of a connection of thought, partly from similarity of sound and termination.

ἀκαθαρσία] is commonly used in the New Testament for the impurity of lust; but in one passage, 1 Thess. ii. 3. (compare ver. 5.), apparently for impurity in the other sense of “interested motives,” thus affording a curious parallel to the converse change of

meaning in the word πλεονεξία. It occurs in a general sense in Dem. con. Meidiam, 553. 13. for “baseness,” or “foulness.”

ἀσέλγεια] passes through a change of meaning answering to the two senses of the English word wantonness, from outrageousness, excess, in early Greek [prob. from *a* privative and ἑλγω], to lewdness and lasciviousness in Polybius and the Greek Testament; in which latter, however, the primary meaning is also retained.

20. εἰδωλολατρεία] is used in its proper sense in 1 Cor. x. 7., yet also in that metaphorical one in which we speak of making riches, children, &c., idols, in Eph. v. 5.; Col. iii. 5. πλεονεξία ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, where the juxtaposition of the two words is remarkable as a proof of the genuineness of the two Epistles, occurring as it does again in 1 Cor. v. 11.—πλεονέκτης ἢ εἰδωλόλατρες, in a different form.

φαρμακεία,] like veneficium in Latin, means witchcraft, as commonly in the Old Testament.

ἐριθείαι.] See on Rom. ii. 8.

διχοστασίαι and αἰρέσεις.] Divisions—(1.) in reference to their

στασίαι αἰρέσεις φθόνοι [φόνοι] μέθαι κῶμοι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια 21
τούτοις· ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς [καὶ] προεῖπον, ὅτι οἱ
τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομή-
σουσιν. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἀγάπη χαρὰ 22
εἰρήνη μακροθυμία χρηστότης ἀγαθωσύνη πίστις πραύ- 23
της ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος. οἱ 24
δὲ τοῦ χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν
τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύ- 25
ματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν. μὴ γινώμεθα κενό- 26
δοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι, ἀλλήλους¹ φθονοῦντες.

¹ ἀλλήλοις.

outward effect; (2.) to the inward feeling from which they spring.

προεῖπον,] as I told you "while I was yet with you." Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 5.

βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομῶ-
σουσιν.] The same expression occurs in 1 Cor. v. 9, 10., xv. 50. "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Where, as in this passage, it must be taken for the kingdom of Christ in the resurrection.

22. ὁ δὲ καρπός,] applied more naturally, though not exclusively, in a good sense. Compare Matt. vii. 18.

χαρά.] Comp. Rom. xii. 15.:—
χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων. Joy or light-heartedness is, in itself, a Christian duty; it may be regarded as a higher degree of peace, not unconnected with that

"glorying in the Lord" of which the Apostle elsewhere speaks. Gal. vi. 14., 2 Cor. xii. xiii. &c.

εἰρήνη,] opposed to ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, and therefore primarily signifying peace with man, from which, however, peace towards God is inseparable.

χρηστότης] is used in the New Testament for goodness, in the sense of kindness or mercy, whether of God or man.

ἀγαθωσύνη] may be distinguished from χρηστότης, as goodness in the sense of probity, from goodness in the sense given in the previous note.

πίστις.] As in 1 Cor. xii. 9., 2 Tim. ii. 22., faith is here used, not for the door of all virtues, but for a particular virtue.

23. κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων] may be either masculine or neuter. If the latter, the construction is more

21 envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such
 like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also
 told you in time past, that they which do such
 22 things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the
 fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering,
 23 gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance:
 24 against such there is no law. And they that are
 Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections
 25 and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also
 26 walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain
 glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

regular, although what is gained in regularity is more than lost by the want of point in saying, "Against love, &c., there is no law." Lax antecedents are frequent in the New Testament. John, viii. 24. ; Rom. ii. 26.

οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.] "The law is not made for a righteous man." 1 Tim. i. 9. It neither prohibits nor enjoins Christian graces, which belong to a different sphere. The Apostle has accidentally lighted upon a formula which occurs also in Aristotle.

24. In the preceding verses the Apostle has been speaking of the opposition between the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit. He adds, "But they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh;" to which, without any connecting or adversative particle, the next verse answers,—“If we come under this class ; if we live

not by the flesh but by the Spirit, let us walk by the guidance of the Spirit.” As in the Romans he says :—“If ye be Christ's, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.” Ver. 24. corresponds to ver. 19—21., as ver. 25. to ver. 22. and 23.

25. στοιχεῖν,] like περιπατεῖν, refers to “way of life.”

πνεύματι.] By the help or rule of the Spirit: the instrumental sense of the dative is lost in a more general one.

26. Let us not be vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another.

This and the precepts that follow to the end of ver. 6. of the following chapter are illustrations of the walk of the Spirit. The works which they enjoin are the contrary of the works of the flesh spoken of above.

ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν καὶ προλημφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παρα- 6
πτώματι, ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον
ἐν πνεύματι πραότητος. σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν, μὴ καὶ σὺ
πειρασθῇς, ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως 2
ἀναπληρώσετε¹ τὸν νόμον τοῦ χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ 3

¹ ἀναπληρώσατε.

VI. The connection of ver. 1—10. with each other, and with what precedes, is at first sight obscure. The Apostle has been contrasting the works of the flesh with those of the Spirit. At ver. 25. of the preceding chapter, he added the exhortation :—"If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit;" or, in modern language, as our faith is, so let our practice be. In the next verse he changes the mood, and, having inculcated the general principle, proceeds to fill up the details of Christian duty. The first among these details is the precept against vainglorying, then comes the obligation of the spiritually minded towards an erring brother, then of bearing one another's burdens, then of thinking lowly of self, of trying one's life and actions, of keeping glorying to one's self; next the thought that we all have our burdens to bear, then the duty of supporting ministers of the word, then of doing good to all and especially to the household of faith. These various and apparently disjointed precepts are not, however, unconnected in the Apostle's own mind.

First, the absence of vainglorying is really connected with a merciful judgment of the sins and mistakes of others. He who feels the possibility that he may err himself, is far more

ready to restore others. And the same spirit which inclines a man to a lenient judgment of others, leads him also to bear with the infirmities and weaknesses of others. The emptiness of self-conceit is a great source of want of consideration towards our fellow-creatures. [The feeling of him who said,—“God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are,” is the feeling which says also,—“nor even as this publican.”] But if a man will try himself, he will find that he too has his cross and burden, and will lay aside his self-importance, and seek to identify himself with others. In what follows (ver. 6.), the Apostle seems to invert the logical order; instead of saying,—“Let us do good to all men,” and so going on to the particular, he begins with a particular case of doing good, the duty of supporting ministers, and concludes with the general precept.

προλημφθῇ,] not “even if a man be taken in a fault before;” or “not for the first time;” still less, “if a man be taken in a fault before this Epistle reach you;” but as in the English translation, “If a man be overtaken in a fault :” καὶ expresses a continuation of what has preceded; “also” “and if.” The same gentleness which envieth not, is also to shew itself in suffering the erring brother. The word προλημφθῇ

- 6 Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.
 2 Bear ye one another's burdens, and so * shall ye fulfil¹ the
 3 law of Christ. For if a man think himself to be some-

¹ Fulfil.

“overtaken,” already anticipates the feeling with which his offence is to be regarded.

ὁμείς οἱ πνευματικοί,] “Ye who are spiritual,” opposed to σαρκικοί. Ye who know the truths of the Gospel, and are freed from the law, and live in communion with God and Christ. Spirituality may be described as the unity of moral virtues in God and Christ; it implies a nature in harmony with other men; in harmony with self; judging all men, and judged of no man; above, and also on a level with them. It is not absolutely without parts; like moral virtue in Aristotelian ethics, it admits an idea at least of separation into the several Christian graces, each of which implies the whole, as in this passage it is particularised as “the spirit of meekness.”

σκοπῶν σεαυτόν, μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῇς.] There is no good reason for Lachmann's punctuation, who connects these words with the succeeding verse, to which they are not so appropriate as to that which follows. It is more after the manner of St. Paul to end than to begin sentences with a participial clause.

2. ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε.] So in Rom. xv. 1:—“We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of them that are weak.” In the Epistle to the Romans, peculiarities of opinion and incli-

nations to Jewish observances are chiefly intended; here, faults and weaknesses of character, all those things which try others in our intercourse with them.

καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ χριστοῦ.] It has been suggested that by the law of Christ is meant the new commandment,—“to love one another.” This is the language of St. John, not of St. Paul. Rather ὁ νόμος τοῦ χριστοῦ refers to Christ himself bearing our infirmities; comp. Matt. viii. 17.—οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐξέστανεν. It might be paraphrased by “the law of the cross of Christ.” It is an expression of the same kind with “the law of the Spirit of life,” where the meaning of the word “law” is self-contradicted. The law of Christ includes many associations. “The law which Christ took upon himself, which he enjoins upon his disciples; the law, not of Moses, but of Christ; not old, but new.”

εἰ γάρ.] The connection implied by γάρ may be paraphrased as follows:—“Bear one another's burdens, even as Christ bore your burdens; for that opinion of self which will not suffer a man to stoop to this, is mere self-deception.”

A similar transition of thought occurs also in Phil. ii. 3, 4. “Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of

τις εἶναί τι μηδὲν ὦν, φρεναπατᾷ ἑαυτόν¹. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ⁴
 ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος, καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον τὸ
 καύχημα ἔξει, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον· ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον ⁵
 φορτίον βαστάσει. κοινωνεῖτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν ⁶
 λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ⁷
 θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται. ὁ γὰρ ἄν² σπείρη ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο
 καὶ θερίσει· ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ⁸
 σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν, ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ
 πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες ⁹

¹ ἑαυτὸν φρεναπατᾷ.² ἄν.

mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

4. If a man will get a little more self-knowledge, and see himself truly as he is, he will feel no inclination to glory, but will keep his own praises to himself.

ἑαυτοῦ,] as opposed to others.

5. ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.] For every one will have to bear his own burden. γὰρ expresses the reason, not merely of the preceding clause, but of the whole previous passage. "Bear one another's burdens, for every one will have a burden of his own to bear;" just as it was said above, "Restore an erring brother, for it may be your turn to err too." In addition to this there is a slighter band of connection in ver. 4, 5. between the words εἰς ἑαυτόν and ἴδιον. When a man looks into himself, he will keep to himself; for he will find within, or without going abroad, the burden which is his.

6. κοινωνεῖτω δέ.] The connection, as already observed, is obscure. The Apostle was passing

on in his mind to speak generally of duties towards others, when, seemingly by a sudden impulse, he lights on a particular point. As though he said, And now I am speaking of those duties which make us members one of another, let me remind you of the debt you owe to your ministers. That such is the Apostle's meaning, notwithstanding its seeming inconsistency with parts of the Epistle, is clear—(α) from the mention of κατηχῶν and κατηχούμενος; (β) from the same precept occurring in 1 Cor. ix. 11., and with a similar context, "He which soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly;" (γ) from the unmeaningness of diluting the command into a general one. The obscurity of the precept seems to arise from the delicacy with which the Apostle has stated it. The same thought is in his mind as in the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians; but in writing to a hostile or alienated communion he does not express himself with equal clearness. Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 3., 2 Cor. viii. 4., also Phil. iv. 17.; and for an instance of obscurity arising from a similar cause,

4 thing, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But let
 every man prove his own work, and then shall he have
 5 rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. For
 6 every man shall bear his own burden. But let* him
 that is taught in the word communicate unto him that
 7 teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived; God is
 not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall
 8 he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of
 the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the
 9 Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. But* let
 us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we

1 Thess. iv. 4, 5. That the duty of making the contribution was urged by him about this time on the Galatian Church, we know from 1 Cor. xvi. 1.:—"As I have given order to the churches of Galatia so do ye."

The particle *δέ* may be of transition only; it may also have a slightly adversative force—"Every man will have his own burden to bear; but the burden of the teacher should be lightened by the taught."

7. The Apostle adds a general warning: "Be not deceived, God is not mocked;" which seems also to have a partial reference to what has gone before. The willingness to support ministers is a substantial proof of the reality of religion, about which there can be no mistake. It is quite another thing from saying to our brother "Be ye warmed, or be ye filled."

In the image which follows, the readiness to give to others and assist their necessities is represented under the figure of the seed. He who supports teachers of the Gospel shall have

true riches; he who is faithful in the unrighteous mammon shall inherit everlasting life. Such an explanation of the words gives a simple connection to the whole passage. Yet it is possible that the particular allusion which is intended by the word "sowing" in ver. 7., and which is resumed in ver. 10., may be lost sight of in the more general idea of Christian life in ver. 8. Comp. Essay on the double Senses of Words in Scripture.

8. Compare Job, iv. 8.: "they that plough iniquity and sow wickedness, reap the same." Also, 2 Cor. ix. 6.

He who has his good things in this life, who spends his treasure on earth, who sows to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption.

Although it is true that *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* are opposed elsewhere, as Judaism and Christianity, yet the allusion is out of place here. The Apostle is contrasting in a general manner the life of self-indulgence which disregards the wants of others, with that spiritual life which is eternal.

μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν· καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.
 ἄρα οὖν ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς 10
 πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως.

Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί. 11
 ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζου- 12
 σιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα¹ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ χριστοῦ
 μὴ διώκονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτετμημένοι² αὐτοὶ νόμον 13
 φυλάσσουσιν, ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν

¹ Insert μὴ before τῷ σταυρῷ.

² περιτεμνόμενοι.

9. καιρῷ...ἰδίῳ.] In our harvest time. Compare Tit. i. 3., 1 Tim. iii. 15., 2 Thess. ii. 6.

μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.] Not, "in due season we shall reap without fainting;" but, as in the English Version, "if we faint not." μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι is the resumption, or rather repetition, of μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν = μὴ ἐγκακοῦντες.

10. ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν.] The use of the word καιρὸν contains an allusion, rather of sound than sense, to καιρῷ ἰδίῳ in the preceding verse. See v. 3.; Rom. xii. 13, 14. We may paraphrase, "There is a time in which we shall reap, and a time in which we should sow." But such a paraphrase goes a little beyond the words.

11. This curious verse has received several interpretations: —that of the English translation, "Ye see how large a letter I have written to you with my own hand;" to which it is truly objected that the Greek requires πηλικά γράμματα ἔγραψα; it may be further added, though the objection is of less weight, that the word γράμματα is not elsewhere used by St. Paul in the sense of a letter. Chrysostom

and other Fathers refer the expression to the ill-formed characters which St. Paul had written with his own hand, to attest the genuineness of the Epistle. Such an explanation appears not improbable, although that of Jerome is yet more likely, who takes the aorist for a present. "See you with what large letters I write with my own hand." This explanation is put in its most probable point of view, if we suppose the remainder of the Epistle, which stands in no immediate connection with what has preceded, but is a recapitulation of the whole, to be also written with the Apostle's own hand. He has taken up the pen, and subjoins in a few emphatic sentences the substance of what he had previously dictated. That it was not his usual custom to write himself may be inferred from Rom. xvi. 22., and from the words of 2 Thess. iii. 17.:—"The salutation of me, Paul, with my own hand, which is the sign in every Epistle; so I write."

12. ὅσοι θέλουσιν.] St. Paul here brings forward a new aspect of the party opposed to him; they were not only zealots for the law,

- 10 shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.
- 11 See* in what large letters I have written unto you
- 12 with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the
- 13 cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; but desire to have you cir-

but in terror of those who were. Comp. Gal. ii. 10. Fear and vain-glory as well as party feeling were their motives of conduct. They hated the Apostle, they were afraid of other Jews, they gloried in the numbers of their followers.

ἐνπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί,] to make a fair shew in externals. οὗτοι is not pleonastic, but emphatic, "these are the men who."

μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ χριστοῦ μὴ διώκωνται.] These words may be translated — "only that they may not be persecuted with the cross of Christ," i. e. may not, in the figurative language of the Apostle, be "crucified with Christ," or have fellowship with or fill up "what is behind of his sufferings." According to this explanation, however, there seems to be little force in the addition, "the cross of Christ," as there can be no object in the Apostle exalting or magnifying their sufferings, when he is speaking not of what they actually suffered, but of what they might have suffered. That is to say, there would be a false emphasis on τῷ σταυρῷ. It is better, therefore, to take the words according to a less common usage of the dative,

found also in classical Greek, in the sense "because of the cross of Christ," which, and not the mere name of Christ, St. Paul has already pointed out as the chief object of Jewish hostility. Comp. v. 11.

13. The γάρ contains the proof of the preceding. And that they are time-servers is evident from this, that the circumcised themselves do not keep the law; but they desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in making you proselytes to Judaism.

In what way could St. Paul affirm that the Jewish teachers did not keep the law? Perhaps, like St. Peter, they were inconsistent, and while they retained some usages of the law gave up others. This must almost necessarily have been the case with Jews residing out of Palestine; they could not, if they would, have kept the whole law. The Apostle may also be referring to the new converts, who, however zealous for Judaism, were far from understanding either the law itself or the traditional interpretations of it. The precise point of the accusation we do not

- 14 cumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But God
 forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord
 Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me,
 15 and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus neither cir-
 cumcision is¹ any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a
 16 new creature. And as many as shall* walk according
 to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the
 17 Israel of God. From henceforth let no man trouble me;
 for I bear in my body the marks of² Jesus.

¹ Availeth.² Add the Lord.

as at chap. v. ver. 6., the Apostle touches on a yet higher aspect of the subject. "Neither uncircumcision any more than circumcision, but a new creature." It is remarkable that nearly the same words—"In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision"—occur three times, and each time with a different termination of the sentence; here "But a new creature;" at v. 6. "But faith which worketh by love;" 1 Cor. vii. 19. "But the keeping of the commandments of God." So far was the Apostle from describing true religion, even when opposed to the law, under the formula of faith only.

16. τῷ κανόνι τοῦτο, i.e. the rule of the new creature.

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ Θεοῦ.] The difficulty of this verse is, how we are to distinguish the Israel of God from those who walk according to this rule. "Peace upon all those who serve the Lord Jesus Christ truly, and upon the Israel of God." The Apostle regards the same persons in two points of view, and with a certain inaccuracy divides them into

two. The inaccuracy has been occasioned, and is partly concealed by, the opposition between the Israel of God, and Israel according to the flesh. It is a bad way of meeting the difficulty to refer the words, "those who walk according to this rule" to the Gentiles, and "the Israel of God" to believing Jews. "Peace be upon the believing heathen to whom circumcision or uncircumcision is indifferent, and upon the Israelite indeed."

Compare, though not exactly parallel, 1 Cor. x. 32.:—"Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God;"—also Rom. iv. 12.

17. τὰ στίγματα, the marks.] The feeling of this verse is anger passing into sorrow. The Apostle rightly thinks that the sufferings which he had endured should give him a kind of sacredness in their eyes. The expression, "I bear in my body the marks of Jesus," is of the same kind as "I am crucified with Christ," Rom. vi. 6., Gal. ii. 20.; or "I fill up what is behind of the sufferings of Christ in my flesh,"

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ 18
πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἀμήν.¹

¹ Πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

Col. i. 24. Having recently suffered persecution, he felt that this was a new link which bound him to his Lord. The marks which he saw in his flesh, re- minded him of the wounds of Christ, perhaps suggesting also the thought that he was His branded slave. There have been those in later ages of the Church,

18 Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with
your spirit. Amen.¹

¹ Unto the Galatians written from Rome.

who have by a self-imposed penance borne the marks of the Lord Jesus. In the well known story of St. Francis of Assisi there is a

trace of the influence of these words.

Comp. St. Paul's own record of his sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. 23—33.

PALEY ON THE GALATIANS.

THE most sceptical criticism has left untouched the Epistle to the Galatians. No one has imagined that it is based on the narrative of the Acts; no one doubts that it is a writing of St. Paul. We may, therefore, cease to raise up defences of its genuineness. The anxiety to increase a certainty is liable to cast suspicion on what would otherwise be undoubted.

For this reason it is unnecessary to follow Paley at length through the proof which he offers in No. 1., that the Epistle could only have been written in the beginning of Christianity, while the question of circumcision was recent; or, in No. 2., that the Acts and the Epistle are independent of, and yet in numerous particulars confirm, each other; or, in No. 3., that the particularity and number of the points of connection between them, prove the Epistle to be a genuine writing of the Apostle; or, in No. 4., that the indirect allusion to his infirmity in iv. 11—16. is too subtle a coincidence with 2 Cor. xii. 1—9., to be within the range of the forger's ingenuity; or, in No. 5., that the figure of chap. iv. 29., which implies that the Apostle was persecuted by them "that were born after the flesh," is curiously, and apparently incidentally, confirmed by the ever-recurring persecutions of Jews in the Acts; or, in No. 6., that the spirit of Gal. vi. 1., "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness," singularly agrees with the actual conduct of the Apostle, in his second admonition about the incestuous person, in 2 Cor. ii. 6—8.; or, in No. 7., that the disavowal of the obligation of the Jewish law, either on Jews or Gentiles, in the Galatians, similarly agrees with his acknowledged

exceptional conformity to the law for a particular purpose. All these points of agreement are interesting, and many of them are of real importance; the last being, perhaps, the least satisfactory; as although the Acts of the Apostles nowhere assert that St. Paul insisted on the observance by Gentiles of the Jewish law, but quite the reverse; yet they nowhere imply the same universal disavowal of the law for Jews as well as Gentiles which is found in the Epistle to the Galatians. "Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing," is not the tone of the writer of the Acts.

Paley makes several remarks in confirmation of his argument, in which it is not possible, however, to agree. As in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, he shows the tact of an advocate, not the impartiality of a judge. This is especially exhibited in the manner in which he marshals his evidence. There are points in which the history of the Acts confirms the narrative of the Epistle, and in which the Epistle bears incidental testimony to the truth of the history, as there are points also of discrepancy between them. But to use the latter as proving the independence of the two narratives, and the former as witnessing to their truth and accuracy, is not an equitable method of proceeding, unless we balance the one with the other, and acknowledge the joint result. The case with which Paley has to deal is not that of a witness whose (see No. 2.) whole evidence is to be accepted because it is partially confirmed by the evidence of another, but of one whose testimony is partially denied as well as confirmed. Two things which ought to be inseparable have been separated by him; and his argument gains by the artificial division. He is admirable in picking out and putting together a portion of the facts, and the reader who has no one to plead the other side to him is satisfied that he sees the bearings of the whole. I do not make these remarks from any wish to discredit a great name. A strong conviction of the injury which in the long run *ex parte* statements must occasion to the cause of Scriptural or of any other kind of truth (especially when they are quite popular and

intelligible), is my only reason for commenting on the portions of the "*Horæ Paulinæ*" which fall in with the subject of these volumes.

No. 8., in which Paley argues from the allusion in Acts xxii. 18., "Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me," to the agreement between the statement of the Galatians, chap. i. 18., that St. Paul abode at Jerusalem, on his first visit, fifteen days only, and the apparently longer stay implied in the ninth chapter of the Acts, when he is described as "coming in and going out with the Apostles at Jerusalem, and speaking boldly in the name of Jesus," contains an instance of the want of fairness alluded to. For in the twenty-second chapter of the Acts there is nothing to indicate that the message, "get thee quickly out," was given immediately after the Apostle's entry into Jerusalem; and a discrepancy remains behind, which Paley has omitted to notice. For in the first chapter of the Galatians the Apostle distinctly says that "he was unknown by face to the churches of Judea;" and the tenor of his narrative shows that his visit of fifteen days was as private as possible. But in the ninth chapter of the Acts (see notes on Gal. i. 18.) it is stated with equal clearness, "that he spake boldly (at Jerusalem) in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians, but they went about to slay him." Paley should have drawn attention to this discrepancy, because it materially affects the probability of the coincidence. Nor should the eighteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of the Acts have been separated from the words which follow, in which (though the passage is obscure) the reason given for the unwillingness to receive the Apostle's testimony appears to be the fact of his former persecution of the Church.

Nor, again, in No. 10., when Paley is remarking on the coincidence in the position of James as head of the Church at Jerusalem, in the Acts and the Epistle, is it quite satisfactory that he should omit to notice the character in which James is exhibited in the Acts, as the supporter of St. Paul on two great occasions of dispute (Acts,

xv. 13., xxi. 18.) between Jew and Gentile, and the light in which he is incidentally alluded to in Gal. ii. 12. (comp. ver. 9.); or that he should explain the inconsistency in Peter's conduct at Antioch with the vision at Joppa, by supposing that "he might have considered the latter as a direction for the occasion, rather than as universally abolishing the distinction between Jew and Gentile." (See Acts, xi. 18.)

But the greatest instance, not of unfairness in the writer, but of want of perception of what is due to the reader, occurs in the comparison of the visit of Gal. ii. with the council in Acts xv. The true result of such a comparison is to show the identity of the two occasions (see note at the end of chap. ii.), amid the diversity of the accounts of them. Paley, while half admitting this identity, overlooks the difficulty of supposing that St. Paul should have referred to this visit, and yet omitted to mention the decree of the council which was directly to the point in dispute.

The critic may be firmly convinced of the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians, though his convictions will not always rest on the grounds which are alleged by Paley. It is not a flourish of theological rhetoric to ask : "How could the art of man have invented a state which has no parallel in succeeding ages? Who could have acted that passionate emotion which is called forth by circumstances to which the Epistle only remotely alludes?" No forgery so deep and intricate, and so natural, ever existed. The single passage, Gal. ii. 1—14., closely connected as it is with the rest of the Epistle, is of itself nearly sufficient to establish the genuineness of the whole.

The narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, when compared with the Epistle to the Galatians, does not show equal historical accuracy. It differs in many details, and also in the point of view in which its author regards the question of Jew and Gentile. It is a noble record of primitive Christianity, quite free, too, from suspicion of bad faith or imposture, yet it cannot be denied that in many material points, as, for example, the relation of the Apostle to the Church at Jerusalem, it disagrees in its spirit, and also in several of its facts from

the Epistles of St. Paul. Was it that years had passed away, and the differences of the Apostles were no longer seen in the distance? Dates and circumstances which had been once known may have been no longer preserved with accuracy. Whatever may be the reason, the amount of discrepancy between the earlier chapters of the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians contrasts with the precise agreement of the later chapters with the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, as well as with the internal consistency of the Epistle to the Galatians itself.

In inquiries of this sort it is often supposed that, if the evidence of the genuineness of a single book of Scripture be weakened, or the credit of a single chapter shaken, the whole is overthrown. Sometimes the danger of losing the whole is made an argument against criticism of any part. Much more true is it that, in short portions or single verses of Scripture the whole is contained. Had we but one discourse of Christ, one Epistle of Paul, more than half would have been preserved. There is a story of a solitary of the desert, who came into the city of Alexandria and carried back with him a text of Scripture, refusing afterwards to learn another, because he could never completely practise the first. The story belongs to another age; it may still be applied by those who interpret a doubt respecting the least portion of Scripture into a denial of the Christian faith.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. PAUL.

THE New Testament "is ever old, and the Old is ever entwined with the New." Not only are the types of the Old Testament shadows of good things to come; not only are the narratives of events and lives of persons in Jewish history "written for our instruction;" not only is there a deep-rooted identity of the Old and New Testament in the revelation of one God of perfect justice and truth; not only is "the law fulfilled in Christ to all them that believe;" not only are the spiritual Israel the true people of God, and the taking of Jerusalem a figure of the end of the world: a nearer though more superficial connection is formed by the volume of the Old Testament itself, which, like some closely fitting vesture, enfolds the new as well as the old dispensation in its language and imagery, the words themselves, as well as the thoughts contained in them, becoming instinct with a new life, and seeming to interpenetrate with the Gospel.

This verbal connection of new and old is not peculiar to Christianity. All nations who have ancient writings have endeavoured to read in them the riddle of the past. The Brahmin, repeating his Vedic hymns, sees them pervaded by a thousand meanings, which have been handed down by tradition: the one of which he is ignorant is that which we perceive to be the true one. Without more reason, and almost with equal disregard or neglect of its natural import, the Jewish Alexandrian and Rabbinical writers analysed the Old Testament; in a similar spirit Gnostics and Neoplatonists cited lines of Homer or Pindar. Not unlike is the way in which the Fathers cite

both the Old and New Testament ; and the manner in which the writers of the New Testament quote from the Old has more in common with this last than with modern critical interpretations of either. That is to say, the quotations are made almost always without reference to the connection in which they originally occur, and in a different sense from that in which the prophet or psalmist intended them. They are fragments culled out and brought into some new combination ; jewels, and precious stones, and corner-stones disposed after a new pattern, to be the ornaments of another temple. It is their place in the new temple, not their relation to the old, which gives them their effect and meaning.

Such tessellated work was after the manner of the age : it was no invention or introduction of the sacred writers. Closely as it is wrought into the New Testament, it belongs to its externals rather than to its true life. All religions which are possessed of sacred books, and many which are without them, have passed through a like secondary stage, although the relation of the earlier to the later form of the same religions may have been quite different from that in which the Gospel stands to the Old Testament. In heathenism, as well as Christianity, language has played a great part in connecting the old and the new. There seem to be times in which human nature yearns towards the past, though it has lost the power of interpreting it. Overlooking the chasm of a thousand years, it seeks to extract from ancient writings food for daily life. The mystery of a former world lies heavy upon it, hardly less than of the future, and it lightens this burden by attributing to "them of old time" the thoughts and feelings of contemporaries. It feels the unity of God and man in all ages, and attempts to prove this unity by reading the same thoughts in every word which has been uttered from the beginning. A new spirit takes possession of the words, and imperceptibly alters them into accordance with itself.

The Gnostic and Alexandrian writings furnish a meeting-point between the past and future in which the present is lost sight of, and ideas supersede facts. But something analogous is observable in the

New Testament itself; which may be described also as the confluence of past and future on the ground of the present, the person of Christ and "the Church which is his body" being the centre in which they meet. Some Divine heat or force welds together the old and new. The scattered rays of prophecy are collected in one focus. Language becomes plastic and refashions itself on a new type. Gradually and naturally, as it were a soul entering into a body that had been prepared for it, the new takes the form of the old. The truth and moral power of the Gospel prevent this new formation from resembling the fantastic process of Eastern heresy. The writers of the New Testament use the modes of speech of their contemporaries, but they also ennoble and enlighten them. That traces of their age should appear in them is the necessary condition of their speaking to the men of their age. "The water of life" was not to be strained through the sieve of grammar and logic; nor is it conceivable how a Gospel could have been "preached to the poor" which was founded on a critical interpretation of the Old Testament.

But although the quotations from the Old Testament in the New conform to the manner of the age, and have a superficial similarity with the use of Homer or Pindar in later classical authors, essential differences lie beneath. First, the connection is not, as in the case of heathen authors, merely accidental; the Old Testament looks forward to the New, as the New Testament looks backward on the Old. Reading the psalmists or prophets, we feel that they were pilgrims and strangers, hoping for more than was on the earth, whose sadness was not yet turned into joy. There are passages in which the Old Testament goes beyond itself, in which it almost seems to renounce itself; "lively oracles" of which it might be said, either in Christian or heathen language, "that it speaks not of itself;" or, that "its voice reaches to a thousand years." It is otherwise with heathen literature. There is no future to which Homer or Hesiod looked forward; no moral truth beyond themselves which they dimly see. The life of the world was not to awaken in their song. They were poetry only, out of which came statues of gods

and heroes. The deeper reverence for the "volume of the book" may be in part the reason why the half-understood words of the Old Testament exercise a greater power over the mind. But the mere application of them is also a new creation. They are not dead and withered fragments of the wisdom of ancient times; the force of the new truth which they express reanimates and reilluminates them. Secondly, if we admit that the superficial connection between the Old and New Testament is arbitrary, or, more properly speaking, after the manner of the age, there is a deeper connection also which is founded on reason and conscience. The language of the Psalms and prophets is the natural voice of Christian feeling. In the hour of sorrow, or joy, or repentance, or triumph, we turn to the Old Testament quite as readily as to the New. Thirdly, a difference in kind is observable between the use which is made of quotations by the Alexandrian writers and in the New Testament. In the one they are the form of thought; in the other the mode of expression. That is to say, while in the one they exercise an influence on the thought; in the other they are controlled by it, and are but a sort of incrustation on it, or ornament of it; in some cases the illustration or allegory through which it is conveyed. The writings of St. Paul are not the less one in feeling and spirit, because the language in which he continually clothes his thoughts is either avowedly or unconsciously taken from the Old Testament.

It is remarkable that the Old Testament in many places is built up out of its own materials, in the same way as the New out of the Old. Later Psalms repeat the language of earlier ones; successive prophets use the same words and images, and deliver the same precepts. For example, Jeremiah and the later Isaiah both speak of "the Lamb led to the slaughter;" and Jeremiah and Ezekiel alike revoke the old "proverb in the house of Israel." The Book of Deuteronomy, especially, is full of prophetic elements, either received from or communicated to the later prophets. Instead of the repetition being wearisome or unmeaning, it adds to the depth and power of the words that they are not used for the first time. No happy combination of new lan-

guage could have imparted to them the weight which they derive from associations of the past. In like manner the portions of the New Testament in which the verbal connection with the Old is most striking, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, are also those which are most awful and impressive to us. It is a circumstance not always attended to by commentators on the Apocalypse (at any rate by English ones), that this wonderful book is a mosaic of Old Testament thoughts and words, the pieces of which are put together on a new and glorious pattern. A glance at the marginal references is sufficient to show in how subtle a manner they are interlaced. The inspired author is not merely narrating a new vision which he had seen and heard, to be added to the former visions of Ezekiel or Daniel; but he is collecting and bringing together the scattered elements of prophecy and sacred imagery in one last vision or revelation of the day of the Lord. The kingdom of God is not at a distance; it already exists; it has gathered to itself the figures and glories of the Old Testament. Many other apocryphal writings exhibit signs of the same imitation; they borrow the imagery of the elder prophets. But none of them are inspired with the faith or power which conceives the glorious things that have been said as a living reality.

Perhaps it may be thought paradoxical that the words of the Old Testament should receive a new meaning in the Epistles, and also retain their original power and sacredness; yet in our own use of quotations a similar inconsistency may be observed. For, not only in ancient but in modern times, a certain waywardness is discernible in the application of the words of others. Quotation, with ourselves, is an ingenious device for expressing our meaning in a pointed or forcible manner; it implies also an appeal to an authority. And its point frequently consists in a slight, or even a great, deviation from the sense in which the words quoted were uttered by their author. Its aptness lies in being at once old and new; often in bringing into juxtaposition things so remote, that we should not have imagined they were connected; sometimes in a word rather

than in a sentence, or in the substitution of one word for another ; nor is its force diminished if it lead to a logical inference not strictly warranted. In like manner the quotations of the New Testament are at once new and old. They unite a kind of authority and antiquity with a new interpretation of the passage quoted. Sometimes the application of them is a sort of argument from their exact rhetorical or even grammatical form. Their connection often hangs upon a word, and there are passages in which the word on which the connection turns is itself inserted. There are citations too, which are a composition of more than one passage, in which the spirit is taken from one and the words from another. There are other citations in which a similarity of spirit, rather than of language, is caught up and made use of by the Apostle. There are passages which are altered to suit the meaning given to them ; or in which the spirit of the New Testament is substituted for that of the old ; or the spirit of the Old Testament expands into that of the New. Lastly, there are a few passages which have one sense in the Old Testament, and have an entirely different or opposite one in the New. Almost all gradations occur between exact verbal correspondence with the Greek of the LXX. and discrepancy in which resemblance is all but lost ; between the greatest similarity and difference, even opposition, of spirit in the original passage and its application. The first connection is nearly always lost sight of ; only in Rom. iv. 10. it is referred to generally, and in Rom. xi. 4. imperfectly remembered.

The quotations in the writings of St. Paul may be classified under the following heads :—

i. Passages in which the meaning or the words of the Old Testament are altered, or both ; the alterations sometimes arising from a composition of passages ; in other instances from an adaptation of the text quoted to its new context. In one case a verse of the Old Testament is repeated with variations in two places. See Rom. xi. 34. ; 1 Cor. ii. 16.

ii. Passages in which the spirit or the language of the Old Testa-

ment is exactly retained, or with no greater variation of words than may be supposed to arise out of difference of texts, and no greater diversity of spirit than necessarily arises from the transfer of any passage in the Old Testament into another connection in the New. To which may be added—

iii. Passages which contain latent or unacknowledged quotations.

iv. Allegorical passages.

i. (1.) An instance in which the meaning of the quotation has been altered, and also in which the new meaning given to it is derived from another passage, occurs in Rom. ii. 24.: τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, where the Apostle is speaking of the scandal caused by the violence and hypocrisy of the Jews. The words are taken from Is. lii. 5.: δι' ὑμᾶς διαπαντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι; where, however, they refer not to the sins of the house of Israel, but to their sufferings at the hand of their enemies. The turn which the Apostle has given the passage is gathered from Ez. xxxvi. 21—23.: καὶ ἐφεισάμην αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ ἅγιον ὃ ἐβεβήλωσαν οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οὗ εἰσήλθοσαν ἐκεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

A composition of passages occurs also in Rom. xi. 8., which appears to be a union of Is. vi. 9, 10. and xxix. 10. The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses of the same chapter also furnish a singular instance of combination. (Is. lix. 20, 21.: καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, to which the clause, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, is added from Is. xxvii. 9.) The play upon the word ἔθνη (nations=Gentiles) is repeated in Rom. iv. 17. (Gen. xvii. 5.), Gal. iii. 8. (Gen. xii. 3.), Rom. xv. 11. (Ps. cxvi. 1.).

(2.) Another instance in which the general tone of a quotation is from one passage, and a few words are added from another, is to be found in Rom. ix. 33.: ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Ζιὼν λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται. The greater part of this passage occurs in Is. xxviii. 16.: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαállω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἔκλεκτον ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ καταισχύνηται. But the

words *λίθον προσκόμιματος* are introduced from Is. viii. 14. And the remainder of the passage (*καὶ . . . κατασχυρθήσεται*) is really inconsistent with these words, though both parts are harmonised in Him who is in one sense a stumblingstone and rock of offence ; in another a foundation stone and chief corner stone.

(3.) A slighter example of alteration occurs 1 Cor. iii. 19., where the Apostle quotes from Ps. xciv. 11. : *κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σόφων ὅτι εἰσὶ μάταιοι*. Here the words *τῶν σόφων* are substituted for *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in the LXX., which in this passage agrees with the Hebrew. They are required to connect the quotation in the Epistle with the previous verses. A similar instance of the introduction of a word (*πᾶς*) on which the point of an argument turns, occurs in Rom. x. 11. : *λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυρθήσεται*, where the addition is the more remarkable, as the Apostle had quoted the verse without *πᾶς* in the preceding passage (ix. 33. Lach.). The insertion seems to be suggested by the words of Joel which follow.

(4.) Another instance of addition and adaptation is furnished by 1 Cor. xiv. 21. ; *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται μου, λέγει κύριος*. This quotation, which is said to be "written in the law" (comp. John, x. 34., xii. 34., xv. 25.), is from Is. xxviii. 11, 12., where the words in the LXX. are, *διὰ φανλισμὸν χειλέων, διὰ γλώσσης ἐτέρας, ὅτι λαλήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ*, and in the English translation, "with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak unto this people." But the last words, *οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται*, are taken from the following verse, where a clause nearly similar occurs in a different connection : *λέγοντες αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάπανμα τῷ πεινῶντι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σύντριμμα, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκούειν*, v. 12. The whole is referred by the Apostle to the gift of tongues, which he infers from this passage "to be a sign to unbelievers."

(5.) An adaptation, which has led to an alteration of words, occurs in Rom. x. 6—9. : *ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτω λέγει· μὴ εἶπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τίς ἀναθήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἔστι χριστὸν καταγα-*

γαῖν; ἢ τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; τοῦτ' ἔστι χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγει; ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως, ὃ κηρύσσομεν. ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἡγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν σωθήσῃ. The introductory formula in this passage, *μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου*, is taken from Deut. viii. 17.; the substance of the remainder is abridged from Deut. xxx. 11—14.: *ὅτι ἡ ἐντολὴ αὕτη ἦν ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον οὐχ ὑπέρογκός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐστιν. οὐκ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ, λέγων, τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ λήψεται ἡμῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτὴν ποιήσομεν; οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ, λέγων, τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ λάβῃ ἡμῖν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀκουστήν ἡμῖν ποιήσῃ αὐτὴν, καὶ ποιήσομεν; ἐγγύς σου ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα σφόδρα, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου ποιεῖν αὐτό.* To these verses the Apostle has added what may be termed a running commentary, applying them to Christ. To make the words *πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης* thus applicable, the Apostle has altered them to *εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον*, a change which we should hesitate to attribute to him, but for the other examples which have been already quoted of similar changes. (Compare also Rom. xi. 8., xii. 19.; Eph. iv. 8., quoted from Ps. lxvii. 18.; Eph. v. 14. The latter passage, in which as here the name of Christ is introduced, is probably an adaptation of Is. lx. i.) He has also omitted *ἐν ταῖς χερσί*, which was not suited to his purpose. Considering the frequency of such changes, it would be contrary to the rules of sound criticism to attribute the introduction of the words to a difference of text in the Old Testament.

(6.) An example of a new turn given to a passage from the Old Testament occurs in Rom. xi. 2, 3., where the Apostle has put together in one connection two verses which are disconnected in the original. In the Book of Kings (1 Kings, ix. 15—18.), the words, “I have left to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal,” are a continuation of the instruction to anoint Jehu and Hazael. But, in the application which the Apostle makes of

them, they are quoted as the answer of God to the complaint of Elijah. The misplacement seems to have arisen from the words, "I am *left* alone," and the allusion to the worshippers of Baal. Compare Jus. Dial. c. 39. n. 2, 3.; 46. n. 18.

(7.) The words of 1 Cor. xv. 45., *οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται· Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*, afford a remarkable instance of discrepancey, both in expression and meaning, from Gen. ii. 7.: *ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*; to the two clauses of which the Apostle appears to have applied a distinction analogous to that which Philo draws (De Legum Alleg. i. 12.; De Creat. Mun. 24. 46.) between the earthly and the heavenly man (Gen. ii. 7. and i. 27.). The words are apparently inconsistent with the twenty-second verse of the same chapter: "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive;" which, in the sense sometimes given them, are also inconsistent with the forty-seventh verse: "The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven." An instructive parallel to both inconsistencies is offered by the application of the expression of Genesis, "the image of God," not only to the regenerate man and to Christ (Col. iii. 10.; 2 Cor. iv. 4.), but also to the natural man, or to man in general, without any such allusion, as in 1 Cor. xi. 7. Compare James, iii. 9.

(8.) A curious instance of a subtle and at the same time strained application of a passage occurs in Gal. iii. 16—19., to which (*τῷ σπέρματι*) attention has been drawn in the notes. Compare Hebrews, vii. 1.; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14.

(9.) Cases occur in which the words of the Old Testament are quoted in contrast to the Gospel; as, for example, the words of Leviticus xviii. 5., *ἃ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος, ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς*, repeated in Rom. x. 5., Gal. iii. 12.; so Deut. xxvii. 26., in Gal. iii. 10. The first of the two examples affords an instance of a minor peculiarity, viz. disorder introduced into the grammatical construction by quotations.

ii. A good example of the second class of quotations is the pas-

sage from Hab. ii. 4. quoted in Rom. i. 17., ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται; which occurs also in two other places, Heb. x. 38., Gal. iii. 11., which the LXX. read, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται, and the English version translates from the Hebrew, "but the just shall live by *his* faith. It is remarkable, that in Rom. i. 17., Gal. iii. 11., the verse should be quoted in the same manner, and that slightly different, either from the LXX. or the Hebrew; in Heb. x. 38. it agrees precisely with the LXX. Like the other great text of the Apostle, "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness," which is also repeated three times in the New Testament (Rom. iv. 3.; Gal. iii. 6.; James, ii. 23.), it offers an example of the way in which the language of the Old Testament is enlarged and universalised in the New; the particular faith of Abraham or of the Israelite becoming the type of faith as opposed to the law. The wider sphere of Messianic prophecy, which extends the promise of the root of Jesse to the Gentiles (Is. xi. 10.), is also appropriated as of right by St. Paul. Here too the meaning is enlarged, as in the application of the words of Isaiah: "I was found of them that sought me not" (lxv. 1.), Rom. x. 20. It is less characteristic of the Apostle, that the predestinarian language of the Old Testament is in some instances transferred by him to the New, as in Rom. ix. 13. after Mal. i. 2, 3. ("Jacob have I loved; Esau have I hated"), and in Rom. ix. 20. after Is. xxix. 16. Some of the passages which speak of the vanity of human wisdom are taken from the Old Testament (1 Cor. i. 19, 20. after Is. xxix. 16., xlv. 9.).

Other examples of the second class of quotations are such places as the following: "Blessed is the man whose iniquity is forgiven, and whose sin is pardoned; blessed is the man to whom the Lord doth not impute sin," Rom. iv. 7., from Ps. xxxii. 1, 2. "The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me," Rom. xv. 3., from Ps. lxxix. 9. "Who hath believed our report?" Rom. x. 16., from Is. liii. 1. "For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter," Ps. xliii. 22., quoted in Rom. viii. 36.; in which the instinct of the Apostle has caught the

common feeling or spirit of the Old and New Testament, though the texts quoted contain no word which is a symbol of his doctrine.

Passages which might be placed under either head are Rom. x. 13. : "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," the words of which exactly agree with the LXX., although their original meaning in Mal. i. 2, 3., whence they are taken, has to do, not with the individuals Jacob and Esau, but with the natives of Edom and Israel : the cento of quotations in Rom. iii. descriptive of the wickedness of the Psalmist's enemies, or of those who were the subjects of the prophetic denunciations, which are transferred by the Apostle to the world in general (compare Justin Dial. c. 27. n. 6., where several of the quotations occur in the same order); Rom. xii. 20. : "Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink ; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head," the words of which are exactly quoted from the LXX. (Prov. xxv. 21, 22.), though the meaning given to them is ironical ; for which reason the succeeding clause, "But the Lord shall reward thee," which would have destroyed the irony, is omitted.

iii. What may be termed latent or unacknowledged quotations vary in extent from whole verses down to single words ; there are instances in which mere resemblances of form may be traced, with no word the same. A remarkable example of an entire verse which is thus quoted is furnished by the application of Prov. xxv. 21, 22. (Rom. xii. 20., "Therefore if thine enemy," &c.), already referred to. A few words are traceable in Eph. v. 30., also affording a good instance of what may be termed the spiritualisation of the natural or physical language of the Old Testament. Gen. ii. 23., xxix. 14. : *τοῦτο νῦν ὀστέον ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου, καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου*; so of Christians, *μέλη ἔσμεν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ*. So 1 Cor. x. 20., after Deut. xxxii. 17. ; Ephes. i. 22. (compare 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.), taken from Ps. viii. 6. ; and without any change of meaning, Eph. iv. 26., from Ps. iv. 4. In like manner, Eph. ii. 13—17. contains a remembrance of Is. lvii. 19. ; Eph. vi. 14. 17. of Is. lix. 17. A single word, *ὁ ὄφεις ἠπάτησέ με*, Gen. iii. 13. (which is

also quoted 2 Cor. xi. 3), has probably left a trace of itself in the personification of sin, Rom. vii. 11. : ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐξηπάτησέ με . . . καὶ ἀπέκτεινε. The verses 2 Cor. vi. 9. 11. contain two examples of verbal allusion. The slightest thread is enough to form a connection. In 2 Cor. xiii. 1., ἐπὶ στόματος δυνὸ μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα, the association which leads the Apostle's mind to the quotation (from Deut. xix. 15. : compare Matt. xviii. 16. ; John, viii. 17.) seems to be only the word *τρεις*, arising out of the circumstance that he has mentioned just before that he is coming to them for the third time. 1 Cor. v. 13. offers another example of the use of the language of the LXX. (Deut. xxii. 24.), in which the Apostle clothes a command to the Church. The verse 1 Cor. xv. 32., "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," is taken word for word from Isaiah, xxii. 13. ; and in the same chapter the words, "O death, where is thy sting ? O grave, where is thy victory?" (vers. 55, 56.), with almost verbal exactness, from Hosea, xiii. 14.

iv. Once more. In a few passages the Apostle, after the manner of his time, has recourse to allegory. These are:—1. the allegory of the woman who had lost her husband, in Rom. vii. (compare Gal. iv. 1—3., which is supported by Is. liv. 1.) ; 2. Of the children of Israel in the wilderness, in 1 Cor. x. ; 3. Of Hagar and Sarah, in Gal. iii. ; 4. Of the veil on the face of Moses, in 2 Cor. iii. ; 5. Abraham himself, who is a kind of centre of allegory, the actions of whose life, as well as the promises of God to him, are symbols of the coming dispensation ; 6. The history of the patriarchs, and cutting short of the house of Israel, in Rom. ix. x. Of these examples, the first, third, and fourth are what we should term illustrations ; while the second, fifth, and sixth have not merely an analogous or metaphorical meaning, but a real inward connection with the life and state of the first believers.

A few general results of an examination of the quotations from the Old Testament in St. Paul's Epistles may be summed as follows :—

1. The number of direct quotations in which reference is made to the original is about 87, of which about 53 are found in the Epistle to the Romans, 15 in 1 Corinthians, 6 in 2 Corinthians, 10 in Galatians, 2 in Ephesians, 1 in 1 Timothy. Of these nearly half show a precise verbal agreement with the LXX.; while, of the remaining passages, at least two thirds exhibit a degree of verbal similarity which can only be accounted for by an acquaintance with the LXX. Minuter traces of the Old Testament language are far more numerous.

2. None of these passages offer any certain proof that the Apostle was acquainted with the Hebrew text.* That he must have been so can hardly be doubted; yet it seems improbable that he could have had a familiar knowledge of the original without straying into parallelisms with the Hebrew, in those passages in which it varies from the LXX. His acquaintance with the Hebrew was probably of such a kind as we might acquire of a version of the Scriptures not in the vernacular. No Englishman incidentally quoting the English version from memory would adapt it to the Greek, though he might very probably adapt the Greek to the English. The inference is, that the Greek and not the Hebrew text must have been to the Apostle what the English version is to ourselves.

3. While many of these quotations are introduced, as we have already seen, without any acknowledgment in the New Testament, a few others, as for example, Rom. xii. 19., 1 Cor. xv. 45., are hardly, if at all, discernible in the text of the Old. The familiarity with the Old Testament which has led to the first of these two phenomena is probably also the cause of the second. As the words suggest themselves unconsciously, so the spirit without the words occasionally comes into the Apostle's mind; or the language and spirit of different passages blend in one.

4. There is no evidence that the Apostle remembered the verbal connection in which any of the passages quoted by him originally

* Compare Rom. ix. 7., x. 15., 1 Cor. ii. 9., as the best instances on the other side; they do not, however, disprove the truth of the remark.

occurred. He isolates them wholly from their context; he reasons from them as he might from statements of his own, "going off upon a word," as it has been called, in one instance almost upon a letter (Gal. iii. 16.), drawing inferences which in strict logic can hardly be allowed, often extending the meaning of words beyond their first and natural sense. There is nothing to distinguish his use of quotations from that of his age, except greater power and life; he clings more than his contemporaries to the spirit and less to the letter, his inaccuracy about the latter arising in some instances from his feeling for the spirit.

5. There is no reason to think that the Apostle ever quotes from apocryphal writings, nor could it be gathered from the language of his Epistles that he was acquainted with the works of classical authors. Similarities are found with apocryphal writings; but they are all explainable on the supposition of a common source. Three or four verses from Greek poets also occur in the Acts and Epistles; these, however, are common and proverbial expressions, which the Apostle might very well have known without having been read in the works of Aratus, Epimenides, Euripides, or Menander.

6. Vestiges of Old Testament language are so numerous, as to admit of an argument from their occurrence to the genuineness of the Epistles. If the same interpenetration of new and old phraseology occurs in the Epistle to the Ephesians that we find in the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and the Galatians, here is considerable reason for supposing that they are writings of the same author, or at any rate of the same date. A new argument from coincidence arises, for no one would imagine that it could have occurred to a forger of a later age to imitate the manner in which St. Paul used the language of the LXX. The argument is only suggested; it requires careful consideration to enable an estimate to be formed of its exact value. It certainly applies, however, with some force, to the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which there are very few traces of direct citation, but many of verbal resemblances.

7. The study of the quotations from the Old Testament draws

attention to the knowledge which the Apostle must have had of the Greek Scriptures. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the minuteness of this acquaintance. In the greater number of quotations he is verbally accurate. Hence, we may also infer that it is not from want of memory that he disregards the connection. His writings teem with the phraseology of the Psalms and the Prophets. They suggest his thoughts, they are his weapons of controversy, they supply him with words and expressions as well as with a "form of truth." The Greek Old Testament Scriptures are not only sacred books to him, they are also his language and literature. What are often termed the Hebraisms of the Apostle are, for the most part, if not always, Hellenisms; that is to say, Hebraisms contracted through the influence of the LXX.

Lastly, It may be asked whether St. Paul regarded these texts of Scripture as prophecies or accommodations, as illustrations or arguments, as types or figures of speech, as designed or undesigned coincidences? The answer is, that such distinctions had no place in his mind; to attribute them to him is a logical anachronism. He did not say to himself: This was designed, that undesigned; this is an illustration, that an argument. He adopted what appeared to his own mind a natural form of expression, what he conceived would convey his meaning to others. His own language and that of the psalmists and prophets are bound together by him in various ways:

1.) Often (as we have already seen) whole verses of the Old Testament are latent in the Epistle, without note or sign.

2.) In other passages they are preceded by *καθως γέγραπται*: *τί λέγει ἡ γραφή*; *λέγει ἡ γραφή*: *καθάπερ Μωσῆς λέγει*. David, Isaiah, Elijah, Hosea, are also cited by name.

3.) A stronger formula is found in Gal. iii. 8.: *προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφή*; and one more emphatic still in 1 Cor. x. 11.: *ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τυπικῶς συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς ρουθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκε*.

ST. PAUL AND THE TWELVE.

THE narrative of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians suggests an inquiry, which lies at the foundation of all inquiries into the earliest history of the Church :—"In what relation did St. Paul stand to the Apostles at Jerusalem?" To which inquiry three answers may be given :—(1.) the answer which identifies the preaching of St. Paul and the Twelve ; or, (2.) which opposes them ; or, (3.) which is between the two, admitting a degree of unity, yet allowing also for great differences of external circumstances and individual character. The first answer is that which would be gathered from the Acts of the Apostles, which offer only the picture of an unbroken harmony ; a view to which the Church in after ages naturally inclined, and which may be said to be caricatured in the explanation of Origen and Chrysostom, that the dispute between the Apostles at Antioch was a concerted fiction. Secondly, the answer which would be supplied by the Clementine homilies, in which St. Paul sustains the character of Simon Magus, and St. Peter is the Apostle of the Gentiles ; such an answer as might probably have been drawn from the writings (had they been preserved to us) of Marcion, by whom St. Paul in turn was magnified to the exclusion of the Twelve ; which falls in also with the conclusions of an extreme school of modern critics, who maintain the Acts of the Apostles to have been written in the second century, with a view of concealing the differences in which the Church began. The third answer is that which we believe would be drawn from an impartial examination of the Epistles of St. Paul himself, the only contemporary documents :—"Independence of each other in their ministry

and apostleship ; antagonism of the followers, and on one or two occasions of the leaders also ; some difference of spirit, together with great personal hostility on the part of the Judaizers to St. Paul, but not of St. Paul to the Twelve."

The question to which these three answers have been given implies a further inquiry into the relation of Jew and Gentile, of the preaching of the Gospel of the uncircumcision to that of circumcision. If in the second century these distinctions yet survived, if animosities against St. Paul were burning still, if a party without the Church ranged itself under his name, if later controversies have anything in common with that first difference, if in the earliest ecclesiastical history we find a silence respecting the person and an absence of the spirit of St. Paul, it is natural to connect these circumstances with the record of the Apostle himself, that on a great occasion the other Apostles "added nothing to him ;" and that at Antioch, which was his own sphere, he withstood Peter to the face. In the personal narrative of the Epistle to the Galatians, we seem to recognise the germ of what reappears afterwards as the history of the Church. And had no memorial remained, had there been no hint anywhere dropped of divisions between St. Paul and the Twelve, no record of Judaizing heresies, we should feel that some account was wanting of the manner in which circumcision became uncircumcision, and the Jew was lost in the Gentile. Probably, we might conjecture, not in all places with equal readiness, nor equally after and before the destruction of Jerusalem or the revolt under Adrian, nor without imparting some elements of the law to the Gospel, nor, in accordance with the general laws of human nature, without a certain violence of party and opinion.

Events of the greatest importance in the annals of mankind are not always seen to be important, until the hour for preserving them is past. There is a time before biography passes into history, when a society has not yet learned to register its acts, and individuals have not awoke to the consciousness of national or ecclesiastical life. In this intermediate period, events the most fruitful in results may lie

buried (the unfolding of the germ in the bosom of the earth is not the least part of the growth of the plant); they may also be reproduced in a new form and their spirit misunderstood by the imperfect knowledge of after ages. Two or three centuries elapse; documents are lost or tampered with, or confused; there is no eye of criticism to penetrate their meaning. The historian has "the veil upon his face" of a later generation; he cannot see through the events, institutions, opinions in the circle of which he lives. Who can tell what went on in a "large upper room" about the year 40? which may, nevertheless, have had great consequences for the world and the Church. Who, when Christianity was triumphant in the fourth century, would comprehend the simple ways and thoughts of believers in the first? Nor is there anything more likely to be misunderstood, than the differences between the first teachers of a religion, and the disputes of their respective followers, about a matter of discipline or doctrine which has passed away. The transition may be too gradual to be observed while it is going on. Literature is of a later date; beginning when the Church has already arrived at its full stature, it cannot describe the stages of its infancy and growth. In the extreme distance the objects of earth are no longer distinguishable from the clouds of heaven.

These are the reasons why, in the consideration of our present subject, there is so much room for speculation and for conjecture; why the result of so many books is so small; why there is endless criticism, and very little history. The materials are slender, and the light by which they are seen is too feeble to enable us to combine or construct them. They cannot be left as they are on the page of Scripture (the human mind has no hold upon flat surfaces); least of all, can they be put together on the pattern of ecclesiastical tradition. Church history, like other history, may be made to acquire a deceitful unity; it may gather to itself form and feature; it may convey a harmonious impression, which, from its internal consistency, it is sometimes difficult to resist. The philosophy of history readily weaves the tangle, developing the progress of opi-

nions and connecting together causes and effects; but the unity which is created by it is artificial. Some other combination may be equally possible. Tradition, on the other hand, has a natural unity; but only the unity of idea, which a later age gives to the past. It tells what an after generation thought that a former one ought to have been. It embodies a sort of corporate or national belief in the past. Its continuity is unbroken, and therefore no suspicion arises that the first link is really wanting.

Many causes combine to produce a singular illusion in reference to the Church of the Apostolic age. There is the temptation to look back to a time when human nature was better than it is, when virtue and brotherly love were not a dream only, when the ideal had a dwelling among men. The times of the Apostles are the golden age of the Church, in which, without "spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," it came from the hands of its Divine Author—the New Jerusalem descending from heaven, arrayed in a portion of that glory with which prophecy clothed it. The old always seems to be better than the new in religion; and the sacredness which we attribute to the first century insensibly overshadows the lives of individuals. Institutions acquire a sort of fixedness from antiquity; feeling their value, we readily believe that they are of Apostolic origin. What is familiar to us becomes distinct; it is impossible to doubt what is daily repeated in our ears. The tendency to error is increased by the circumstance, that in modern as in ancient times we have made the first century the battle-field of our controversies. Instead of asking what was right, or true, or probable, what was the spirit or mind of Christ, we have constantly repeated the question, "What was the belief, constitution, practice, of the primitive Church?"—a question which we had no materials for answering, and which we had, also, the greatest temptation to answer according to our own previous notion. There is room enough in the unknown space for every denomination of Christians to consecrate a temple and raise an altar. Churches, as well as castles, may easily be built in the air. If we inquire

closely into the nature of many familiar conceptions about the constitution of the Apostolic society, we shall find that they consist of a sort of model of perfection invested with some of the externals of Tertullian or of Augustine, and conforming in other respects to the use and practice of our own time.

All history receives a colour from the age in which it is written. This is the case with Ecclesiastical history even more than secular ; it glows with the faith and feelings of the historian ; it reflects his principles or convictions, — it is sometimes embittered by his prejudices. Eusebius, “the father of Ecclesiastical history,” believing as he did that the constitution of the Church which he saw around him had existed from the first, was not likely to give a consistent account of its origin or growth. Nor was it to be expected that he should trace the history of doctrines, who, within the Church at least, could have admitted of no doctrinal difference or development. It was impossible for him to describe that of which he had no conception. Had he been disposed to write an accurate account of the progress of the Christian faith in the first two centuries, the scantiness of his materials would have prevented him from doing so. The antiquarian spirit had awoke too late to recover the treasures of the past. Those who preceded him had a similar though less definite impression of the first age, of which they knew so little, and wrote in the same way. It would be an anachronism to expect that he should sift critically the few cases in which the earlier authorities witness against themselves. In point of judgement, he is about on a level with the other “Father of History ;” that is to say, he is not wholly destitute of critical power : yet his criticism is accidental and capricious ; most often observable in the case of Ecclesiastical writings, which his literary tastes led him to explore. But real historical investigation is unknown to him. No resisting power of inquiry prevents his acceptance of any facts which fell in with the orthodox faith of his age, or seemed to afford a witness to it. Miracles are believed by him, not upon greater, but upon rather less evidence than ordinary events. He catches, like Herodotus, at any

chance similarity, such as that between the first Christians and the Therapeutæ of Egypt. (ii. c. 17.) He feels no difficulty in receiving the statement of Justin Martyr, that Simon Magus was honoured at Rome under the title of the Holy God (*Semo Sanctus*) ; or the testimony of Tertullian, that the Emperor Tiberius referred the worship of Christ to the senate. He sees the whole history of the Church through the medium of that victory over Paganism and heresy which he had witnessed in his own day. He carries the struggle back into the previous centuries, in which he finds almost nothing else but the conflict of the truth with heresy, and the blood of martyrs the seed of the Church. No one can suppose that the heresiarchs were such as he describes them, or that he has truly seized the relation in which they stood to the primitive Church. The language in which he denounces them is a sufficient evidence that he could not have investigated with calmness the character of the "wolf of Pontus," or the false prophet Montanus and his "reptile" followers. Though living at a distance of a century and a half, he repeats and adopts the conventional abuse of their contemporary adversaries.

Records of the earliest heretics have passed away ; no one of them is fairly known to us from his own writings. Their names have become a by-word among men ; at another tribunal we may believe that many judgements passed upon them have been reversed. The true history of the century which followed the withdrawal of the Apostles has also perished, or is preserved only in fragmentary statements. It is a matter of conjecture how the constitution of the Church arose ; it is a parallel speculation, out of what simpler elements the earliest liturgies were compiled. But it does not follow that nothing happened in an age of which we know nothing. The least philosophy of history suggests the reflection that in the primitive Church there must have existed all the varieties of practice, belief, speculation, doctrine, which the different circumstances of the converts, and the different natures of men acting on those circumstances, would be likely to produce. The Church acquired

unity in its progress through the world ; it was more scattered and undisciplined at first than it afterwards became. Even the Apostles do not work together in the spirit of an order ; they and their followers are not an army “set under authority,” of which the leaders say to one man “come, and he cometh,” and to another “go, and he goeth.” The Church of the Apostles may be compared more truly to “the wind blowing where it listeth,” or even to “the lightning shining from one part of the heaven to the other.” Paul and Barnabas and Apollos, and even Priscilla and Aquila, have their separate ways of acting ; they walk in different paths ; they do not attempt to control one another. Whatever caution is observable in their mode of dealing with each other’s spheres of labour is a matter of courtesy, not of ecclesiastical discipline. It is not certain, perhaps on the whole improbable, that those who came from James to Antioch (Gal. ii. 12.) represented the community at Jerusalem. There is no Church which claims to be the metropolis of other Churches ; nor any subordination within the several Churches to a single authority. The words of the Epistle to the Ephesians (iv. 11.), “He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers,” are hardly reconcilable either with three orders of clergy, or with the distinction of clergy and laity. They describe a state of the Church in which there was less of system and more of impulse than at a later period ; in which “all the Lord’s people were prophets,” and natural or spiritual gifts became offices “in the beginning of the Gospel.” Compare Rom. xii. 6. ; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.

Leaving these introductory considerations, we will return to the subject out of which they arose,—the difference of St. Paul and the Twelve, “the little cloud no bigger than a man’s hand,” the sign of the coming storm which darkened the face of the Church and the world.

The narrative of this difference is contained in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. The Apostle begins by asserting his Divine commission and independence of human authority ; he

was an Apostle "not of man nor by man," and there was no other Gospel but that which he preached. After a few words of rebuke, he touches on such points in his personal history as tended to show that he had no connexion with the Twelve. It was not by their ministry that he was converted; and, after his conversion, he had seen them only twice; once for so short a time that he was unknown at that period to the Churches of Judea; on the latter of the two occasions, they had "added nothing to him" in a conference about circumcision. Afterwards, at Antioch, when Peter showed a disposition to retrace his steps at the instigation of certain who came from James, he withstood him to the face, and rebuked his inconsistency, even though his helper Barnabas and all the other Jews were against him. The reason for narrating this is to show, not how nearly the Apostle agreed with the Twelve, but how entirely he maintained his ground, meeting them on terms of freedom and equality.

There are features in this narrative which indicate a hostile, as there are other features which indicate also a friendly, bearing in the two parties who are here spoken of. Among the first may be classed the mention of false brethren, "who came in to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus." Were they Jews or Christians? and how came they to be present, if the Apostles at Jerusalem could have prevented them? In a remarkable passage of the Acts of the Apostles (xxi. 20, 21.) the believers at Jerusalem are spoken of as a great multitude "all zealous for the law," which leads to the inference that their profession and way of life were not inconsistent with Jewish customs: living as they were under the eye of the chief priests, this could hardly have been otherwise; there could have been no strong line of demarcation between Jews and Jewish Christians at Jerusalem. The tone of the narrative implies further, that the other Apostles scarcely resisted the false brethren, but left the battle to be fought by St. Paul. The second point which tends to the unfavourable inference is, the manner in which the Apostles of Jerusalem are spoken of — "those who seemed to be somewhat,

whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me;" οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι, ver. 6., who are shown by the form of the sentence to be the same as οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι, in ver. 9. Thirdly, the distinction of the Gospels of the circumcision and uncircumcision, which was not merely one of places, but of teaching also. Fourthly, the use of the words (ὑπόκρισις) "hypocrisy" and (κατεγνωσμένος) "condemned," in reference to Peter's conduct; and, lastly, in ver. 12., the mention of certain who came from James, under whose influence the Apostle supposed Peter to have acted; which raises the suspicion of a regular opposition to St. Paul, acting in concert with the heads of the Church at Jerusalem. At the meeting, the other Apostles had been determined by the fact, that a Church had grown up external to them, which was its own witness.

This is one way in which the record of the second chapter of the Galatians may be read. Yet, there are gentler features also, which must not be omitted, and which restore us more nearly to our previous conception of the Apostolic Church. In the first place, there is no appearance here, or anywhere in the Epistles, of an open schism between St. Paul and the Twelve. Secondly, the differences are not of such a nature as to preclude the Church of Jerusalem from receiving, or the Apostle from giving, the alms of the Gentiles. Thirdly, the expression, οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι, "who seemed to be somewhat," although ironical, is softened by what follows, οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι στύλοι, "who seemed to be pillars," in which the Apostle expresses the greatness and dignity of the Twelve in their separate field of labour. Lastly, the interview ends with an arrangement which shows the goodwill of the Apostle St. Paul to his poor fellow-Christians at Jerusalem, and the unwillingness of the Twelve to interfere with a work for which "they gave glory to God" (Acts, xi. 18.), or of St. Paul himself "to build upon another man's foundation" (Rom. xv. 20.).

But after thus balancing the question on either side (and it is probable that the spirit of the second chapter of the Galatians will be differently seized by different minds), we naturally turn over the

pages of the other Epistles of St. Paul to collect the intimations which occur elsewhere on the same subject. Let us endeavour to replace the passage in what may be termed the context of the Apostolical age. Is it a mere accident, happening once only, that the Twelve and St. Paul met and had a partial difference? or is the difference alluded to an indication of a greater and more radical difference in the Church itself, which is partially reflected in the persons of its leaders? We might be disposed to answer "yes" to the first alternative, were the first two chapters of the Galatians all that remained to us; we are compelled to say "yes" to the second, when we extend our view to other parts of Scripture.

Everywhere in the Epistles of St. Paul we find traces of an opposition between the Jew and Gentile, the circumcision and the uncircumcision. It is found, not only in the Epistle to the Galatians, but in a scarcely less aggravated form in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, softened indeed and generalised in the Epistle to the Romans, and still distinctly traceable in the Epistle to the Philippians; the party of the circumcision appearing to triumph in Asia, at the close of the Apostle's life, in the second Epistle to Timothy. In all these Epistles we have proofs of a reaction to Judaism, but, though they are addressed to Churches chiefly of Gentile origin, never of a reaction to heathenism. Could this have been the case, unless within the Church itself there had been a Jewish party urging upon the members of the Church the performance of a rite repulsive in itself, if not as necessary to salvation, at any rate as a counsel of perfection; seeking to make them, in Jewish language, not merely proselytes of the gate, but proselytes of righteousness? What, if not this, is the reverse side of the Epistles of St. Paul? that is to say, the motives, object, or basis of teaching of his opponents, who came with "epistles of commendation" to the Church of Corinth (2 Cor. iii. 1.); who profess themselves "to be Christ's" in a special sense (2 Cor. x. 7.); who say they are of Apollos, or Cephas, or Christ (1 Cor. i. 12.), or James (Gal. ii. 12.); who preach Christ of contention (Phil. i. 15. 17.); who deny St. Paul's authority (1 Cor. ix. 1, Gal. iv. 16.);

who slander his life (1 Cor. ix. 3. 7.). We meet these persons at every turn. Are they the same, or different? Are they chance opponents? or do they represent to us one spirit, one mission, one determination to root out the Apostle and his doctrine from the Christian Church?

The epistolary form of St. Paul's writings, and the tendency to lose sight of their marked characteristics in the more general picture of the Acts of the Apostles, have concealed from view the fact that there was a continuous opposition to him, commencing previously to his second missionary journey, and lasting down to the period of the riot at Jerusalem which led to his imprisonment. It is also evident that this hostility is not equally felt towards the Apostles at Jerusalem; for it arrays itself under their authority. Not only in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, but in the Epistle to the Corinthians also (2 Cor. xi. 5., xii. 11.), St. Paul seems to assert himself against the Twelve. He fears that his relation to them will be misconceived; he knows the magic power of Judaism which appeals to the names of some of them. Though the Corinthian as well as the Galatian Church was in some sense a Gentile community, he never seems to be in the least degree apprehensive of a return to "dumb idols;" what he fears is the enforcement of circumcision, the observance of days and weeks, the loss of the freedom of the Gospel. And the opponents, on whom he pours forth his indignation, are at once heathens and also Judaizing Christians. Still the question recurs, In what relation did these Jewish Christians stand to the Apostles at Jerusalem? Let us gather up the fragments that remain in the Acts of the Apostles.

That in the beginning the elements of a division existed in the Christian society appears from the murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, for the neglect of their widows in the daily ministration, which led to the appointment of the seven deacons. Indeed, they may be said to have pre-existed in the Jewish and Gentile world; even among those who were called by a holier name

than that of country, differences of race did not wholly disappear. A first epoch in the history of the division is marked by the death of Stephen, which scattered a portion of the Church, whom the circumstance of their persecution, as well as their dispersion in foreign countries, would tend to alienate from the observance of the Jewish law. A second epoch is distinguished by the preaching of St. Paul at Antioch; immediately after which we are informed that the disciples were first called Christians. Then follows the Council, the more exact account of which is supplied by the Epistle to the Galatians, to which, however, one point is added in the narrative of the Acts,—the mention of certain who came from Jerusalem to Antioch, saying, “Except ye be circumcised, ye cannot be saved.” Passing onwards a little, we arrive at the address of St. Paul to the elders of the Church of Ephesus (Acts, xx. 29, 30.), which seems to allude to the same alienation from himself which had actually taken place in the second Epistle to Timothy (2 Tim. i. 15.). At length we come to St. Paul’s last journey to Jerusalem, and his interview with James, which was the occasion on which, by the advice of James, he took a vow upon him, in hope of calming the apprehensions of the multitude of “the many thousand Jews who believed and were all zealous for the law,” in which passage express reference is made to the decree of the Council. These leading facts are interspersed with slighter notices, which rather arouse than gratify our curiosity. Such are the words—“of the rest durst no man join himself to them” (Acts, v. 13.), touching the way of life of the Apostles; “a great company of the priests were obedient unto the faith” (vi. 7.); “they that were scattered abroad upon the persecution of Stephen, preached the word to Jews only” (viii. 4.); the moderate counsels of Gamaliel (v. 34—40.); the priority attributed to James in Acts, xii. 17. (“Go shew these things to James and the brethren”); the mention of the alms brought by Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem in the days of Claudius Cæsar (xi. 2.); the mention also in Acts, xv. 5., of certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed. Such is the declaration of St. Paul himself at a later

period, that he is a Pharisee" (Acts, xxiii. 6.). Nor is it without significance that in the discussion of this question of the admission of the Gentiles, no reference is made to the command of the Gospels, "Go and baptize all nations;" and that nowhere are the other Apostles described as at variance with the Jewish Christians; nor in the later history of the Acts as suffering persecution from the Jews, or as sharing in the persecution of St. Paul. For twenty years after the death of Herod Agrippa the Church of Jerusalem seems to have had rest; scattered by persecution in its first days, and remaining unmolested at a later period, though increasing in numbers and under the immediate control of the Sanhedrim, it had apparently ceased to incur their enmity or arouse their jealousy.

Many doubts and possibilities arise in our minds respecting the age of the Apostles when we look on the picture "through a microscope," and dwell on those points which are commonly unnoticed. We are tempted to frame theories and reconstructions, which are better, perhaps, represented by queries. Did those who remained behind in the Church regard the death of the martyr Stephen with the same feelings as those who were scattered abroad? or was he in their eyes only what James the Just appeared to be to the historian Josephus? Were the Apostles at Jerusalem one in heart with the brethren at Antioch? Were the teachers who came from Jerusalem to Antioch saying, "Except ye be circumcised, ye cannot be saved," commissioned by the Twelve? Were the Twelve absolutely at one among themselves? Are the "commendatory epistles" spoken of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, to be ascribed to the Apostles at Jerusalem? Can "the grievous wolves," whose entrance into the Church of Ephesus the Apostle foresaw, be other than the Judaizing teachers? Were "the multitude" of believing Jews, who were all zealous for the law, and liable to be quickened in their zeal for it by the very sight of St. Paul, engaged in the tumult which follows? Lastly, how far does the narrative of the Acts convey the lively impression of contemporaries, how far the recollections of another generation? These questions cannot have

detailed answers; to raise them, however, is not without use, for they make us regard the facts in many points of view; they afford a help in the prosecution of the main inquiry, "What was the relation of St. Paul to the Twelve?"

If we conceive of the Apostles as exercising a strict and definite rule over the multitude of their converts, living heads of the Church as they might be termed, Peter or James of the circumcision and Paul of the uncircumcision, it would be natural to connect them with the acts of their followers. One would think that, in accordance with the spirit of the concordat, they should have "delivered over to Satan" the opponents of St. Paul, rather than have lived in communion and company with them. To hold out the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas, and yet secretly to support or not to discountenance their enemies, would seem to be treachery to their common Master. Especially when we observe how strongly the Judaizers are characterised by St. Paul as "the false brethren who came in unawares," "the false Apostles transforming themselves into Apostles of Christ," "grievous wolves entering in," and with what bitter personal weapons they assailed him. (1 Cor. ix. 3—7.) Indeed, the contrast between the vehemence with which St. Paul treats his Judaizing antagonists, and the gentleness or silence which he preserves towards the Apostles at Jerusalem, is a remarkable circumstance.

It may be questioned whether the whole difficulty does not arise from a false conception of the authority of the Apostles in the early Church. Although the first teachers of the word of Christ, they were not the rulers of the Catholic Church; they were not its bishops but its prophets. The influence which they exercised was personal rather than official, derived doubtless from their "having seen the Lord," and from their appointment by Him, yet confined also to a comparatively narrow sphere; it was exercised in places in which they were, but hardly extended to places where they were not. The Gospel grew up around them they could not tell how; and the spirit which their preaching first awakened passed out of

their control. They seemed no longer to be the prime movers, but rather the spectators of the work of God, which went on before their eyes. The thousands of Jews that believed and were zealous for the law would not lay aside the garb of Judaism at the bidding of James or Peter ; the false teachers of Corinth or of Ephesus would not have been less likely to gain followers, had they been excommunicated by the Twelve. The movement which, in twenty years from the death of Christ, had spread so widely over the earth, they did not seek to reduce to rule and compass. It was beyond their reach, extending to communities of the circumstances of which they were hardly informed, and in which, therefore, it was not to be expected that they should interfere between St. Paul and his opponents.

The Apostolic name acquired a sacredness in the second century which was unknown to it in the first. We must not attribute either to the persons or to the writings of the Apostles the authority with which after ages invested them. No Epistle of James and Paul was received by those to whom it was sent, like the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as the Word of God. Nor are they quoted in the same manner with books of the Old Testament before the time of Irenæus. We might have imagined that every Church would have preserved an unmistakable record of its lineage and descent from some one of the Twelve. But so far is this from being the case, that no connexion can be traced certainly, between the Gentile Churches of the second century and that of Jerusalem in the first. Jerusalem was not the metropolis of all Churches, but one among many ; acknowledged, indeed, by the Gentile Christians with affection and gratitude, but not prescribing any rule, or exercising authority over them.

The moment we think of the Church, not as an ecclesiastical or political institution, but, as it was in the first age, a spiritual body, that is to say, a body partly moved by the Spirit of God, dependent also on the tempers and sympathies of men swayed to and fro by religious emotion, the perplexity solves itself, and the narrative

of Scripture becomes truthful and natural. When the waves are high, we see but a little way over the ocean. The first fervour of religious feeling does not admit a uniform level of Church government. It is not a regular hierarchy, but "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, others pastors and teachers," who grow together "into the body of Christ." The description of the early Church in the Epistles everywhere implies a great freedom of individual action. Apollos and Barnabas are not under the guidance of Paul; those "who were distinguished among the Apostles before him," could hardly have owned his authority. No attempt is made to bring the different Churches under a common system. We cannot imagine any bond by which they could have been linked together, without an order of clergy or form of Church government common to them all; this is not to be found in the New Testament. It was hard to keep the Church at Corinth at unity with itself; it would have been still harder to have brought it into union with other Churches.

Of this fluctuating state of the Church, which was not yet addicted to any one rule, we find another indication in the freedom, almost levity, with which professing Christians embraced "traditions of men." The attitude of the Church of Corinth towards the Apostle was not that of believers in a faith "once delivered to the saints." We know not whether Apollos was or was not a teacher of Alexandrian learning among its members, or what was the exact nature of "the party of Christ," 1 Cor. i. 12. But that heathen as well as Jewish elements had found their way into the Corinthian community, is intimated by the "false wisdom," and the sitting at meat in the idol's temple. It is a startling question which is addressed to a Christian Church: "How say some among you that there is no resurrection?" (1 Cor. xv. 12.) It is not less startling that there should have been fornication among them, such as was not even named among the Gentiles. In the Church at Colossæ again something was suspected by the Apostle, probably half Jewish and half heathen in its character, which he designates by the singular expression of a

“voluntary humility and worshipping of angels.” And mention is made in the Roman Church of those who preached Christ of envy and strife, as well as those who preached Christ of peace and goodwill. (Phil. i. 15.)

Amid such fluctuation and unsettlement of opinions we can imagine Paul and Apollos, or Paul and Peter, preaching side by side in the Church of Corinth or of Antioch, like Wesley and Whitfield in the last century, or Luther and Calvin at the Reformation, with a sincere reverence for each other, not abstaining from commenting on or condemning each other's doctrine or practice, and yet also forgetting their differences in their common zeal to save the souls of men. Personal regard is quite consistent with differences of religious belief; some of which, with good men, are a kind of form belonging only to their outer nature, most of which, as we hope, exist only on this side of the grave. We can imagine the followers of such men incapable of acting in their noble spirit, with a feebleness of their high calling, and a stronger one of their points of disagreement; losing the principle for which they were alike contending in “oppositions of knowledge,” in prejudice and personality. And lastly, we may conceive the disciples of Wesley or of Whitfield (for of the Apostles themselves we forbear to move the question) reacting upon their masters and drawing them into the vicious circle of controversy, disuniting them in their lives, though incapable of making a separation between them.

Of such a nature the differences seem to have been which divided St. Paul and the Twelve, arising, in some degree, from individual character, but more from their followers and the circumstances of their lives. They were differences which seldom brought them into contact, and once or twice only into collision. It may have been, “I unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision;” and yet St. Paul may have felt a deep respect for those “that seemed to be pillars,” while they acknowledged with thankfulness the success of his labours. It is not necessary to suppose that the agreement of

the Council, the terms of which are differently described in Galatians ii. and Acts xv., was minutely observed for a long period of years. The instinct which animated the Jewish race made it impossible that the Twelve should always be able to control their followers, and unlikely that they themselves should wholly abstain from sympathising with those who seemed to be joined to them by the ties of nationality. Even at Jerusalem the "multitude zealous for the law" were not to be swayed by the authority of James, who accordingly exhorts St. Paul to "become to the Jews a Jew," that he might regain their confidence. Many things may have been done by the zeal of professing adherents, of which it was impossible for the Twelve to approve, which at a distance it was impossible for them to repress. A party in the Church of Corinth sought to call itself by their name, in opposition to that of St. Paul; they added nothing to St. Paul when the false brethren crept in unawares; they, or at least one of their number, sent messengers from Jerusalem to Antioch, at a critical moment in the dispute about circumcision. And yet, both after and before this variance, St. Paul had collected alms in the Gentile Churches for "the poor saints at Jerusalem" (Acts, xi. 30.); among whom probably were some of his own kinsmen (Acts, xxiii. 16.); and at a late period of his life, some of his friends and followers in prison are described as "of the circumcision" (Col. iv. 10, 11.).

Regarding the whole number of believers in Judea, in Greece, in Italy, in Egypt, in Asia, as a fluctuating mass, of whom there were not many wise, not many learned, not all governed by the maxims of common prudence, needing many times to have the way of God expounded to them more perfectly, and, from their imperfect knowledge, arrayed against one another, subject to spiritual impulses, and often mingling with the truth Jewish and sometimes heathen notions,—we seem to see the Twelve placed on an eminence above them, acting upon them rather than governing them, retired from the scene of St. Paul's labours, and therefore hardly coming into conflict with him, either by word or by letter. They led a life such

as St. James is described as leading by Hegesippus*, "going up into the temple at the hour of prayer," revered by a multitude of

* The narrative of Hegesippus quoted by Eusebius is the earliest considerable fragment of Ecclesiastical History (about the year 160). It is as follows:—

"But James, the brother of the Lord, who, as there were many of this name, was surnamed the Just by all from the days of our Lord until now, received the government of the Church with the Apostles. This Apostle was consecrated from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor fermented liquors, and abstained from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never anointed with oil, and never used a bath. He alone was allowed to enter the Sanctuary. He never wore woollen, but linen garments. He was in the habit of entering the temple alone, and was often found upon his bended knees and interceding for the forgiveness of the people, so that his knees became as hard as camels' in consequence of his habitual supplication and kneeling before God. And, indeed, on account of his exceeding great piety he was called the Just, and Oblias (or Zaddick and Ozleam), which signified justice and protection of the people, as the prophets declare concerning him. Some of the seven sects therefore of the people, mentioned by me above in my Commentaries, asked him what was the door to Jesus? And he answered 'that he was the Saviour.' From which some said that Jesus is the Christ. But the aforesaid sects did not believe either a resurrection or that he was coming to give to every one according to his works; as many, however, as did believe did so on account of James.

"As there were many, therefore, of the rulers that believed, there arose tumult among the Jews, Scribes, and Pharisees, saying that there was danger that the people would now expect Jesus as the Messiah.

"They came therefore together, and said to James, 'We entreat thee restrain the people who are led astray after Jesus as if he were the Christ. We entreat thee to persuade all that are coming to the Feast of the Passover rightly concerning Jesus; for we all have confidence in thee. For we and all the people bear thee testimony that thou art Just, and thou respectest not persons.

"Persuade, therefore, the people not to be led astray by Jesus, for we and all the people have great confidence in thee.

"Stand, therefore, upon a wing of the temple, that thou mayest be conspicuous on high, and thy words may be easily heard by all the people; for all the tribes have come together on account of the Passover, with some of the Gentiles also.'

"The aforesaid Scribes and Pharisees, therefore, placed James upon a wing of the temple, and cried out to him, 'O thou just man, whom we ought all to believe, since the people are led astray after Jesus that was crucified, declare to us what is the door to Jesus that was crucified.' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do ye ask me respecting Jesus the Son of Man? He is now sitting in the heavens, on the right hand of Great Power, and is about to come on the clouds of heaven.'

"And as many were confirmed and glorified in this testimony of James, and said, 'Hosanna to the son of David,' these same Priests and Pharisees said to one

followers zealous for the law, themselves, like Peter, half-conscious of a higher truth, and yet by their very position debarred from being its ministers. At first "the doors were shut for fear of the Jews;" a short time afterwards they are spoken of as "continuing daily with one accord in the temple praising God and having favour with all the people." (Acts, ii. 47.) Then follows a temporary persecution, in which the Apostles are taken by a guard before the council "without violence, for they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned." They are let go by the advice of Gamaliel, but presently the persecution is renewed with increased fury; after the stoning of Stephen, Saul made "havock of the Church," and driving out the disciples from Jerusalem, became the indirect cause of the spread of the Gospel to Phœnice and Cyprus and Antioch. Once again, about the year 44, the arm of Herod was put forth to please the Jews, when he imprisoned Peter and slew James the brother of John. But for above twenty years after this event, that is to say, until the death of James the Just, there is no trace of the Church of Jerusalem suffering from persecution; in the outrage on St. Paul the other Apostles are not the objects of popular odium. The narrative of Hegesippus, the words of James and the Elders (Acts, xxi. 20.), the

another, 'We have done badly in affording such testimony to Jesus, but let us go up and cast him down, that they may dread to believe in him.'

"And they cried out, 'Oh, oh, Justus himself is deceived.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just, because he is offensive to us; wherefore they shall eat the fruit of their doings.' (Isaiah, iii.) Going up, therefore, they cast down the just man, saying to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, as he did not die immediately when cast down; but turning round, he knelt down, saying, 'I entreat thee, O Lord God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Thus they were stoning him, when one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites spoken of by Jeremiah the Prophet, cried out, saying, 'Cease; what are you doing? Justus is praying for you.' And one of them, a fuller, beat out the brains of Justus with the club that he used to beat out clothes.

"Thus he suffered martyrdom, and they buried him on the spot, where his tombstone is still remaining by the temple.

"He became a faithful witness, both to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is Christ. Immediately after this Vespasian invaded and took Judea."—*H. E.* ii. 21.

mere fact that "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith," or that at a later period there were a great multitude of believers "all zealous for the law;" the still more general fact of the existence of a Christian Church at Jerusalem, as far as we know, unmolested;—all these things tend to show that the first Jewish Christians could not have been outwardly distinguishable from their brethren. To the Jew himself they probably appeared only as a Jewish sect within the pale of the covenant and the promises, like the Pharisees or the Essenes. And at a later, as at an earlier, period, it is likely that they would have been truly described in the words of the Acts, as gathering in the temple and "having favour with all the people."

But the Apostle St. Paul was called upon to labour in a wider sphere; perhaps also to do a higher work. There was no temple or altar at which he served; no difference of days, or distinctions of meats and drinks, which he imposed on his Gentile converts. The words, "Behold I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing," would have aroused a tumult in the courts of Jerusalem. They were the strongest, almost the paradoxical, expression of that which was the idea, the inspiration of his life—the freedom of the Gospel. He cast aside at once those national and political bands, which clung like a second nature to the Jewish Church. Nothing short of a moral principle could embrace the world, or deliver the Jew himself. There have been reformers of mankind who have lived in their appointed sphere, thinking the task sufficient of improving their own lives and working by example only, not seeking to influence opinion or reconstruct the institutions of their Church and country. There have been others whose individual life seemed to themselves to be bound up with the truth; with whom the love of Christ has been the symbol of a universal charity; who have sought to throw down the narrower limits of party or creed, by a divine justice, one and the same to all mankind. St. Peter and St. James are types of the first class, living according to the commands of "those who

sat in Moses's seat," but not "doing after their works." St. Paul is a type of the second, finding no rest for his soul until the Gospel has been preached to all mankind; proclaiming faith without the deeds of the law, not as a technical formula, but because "God was not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles."

II. The inquiry into the relation in which St. Paul stood to the Twelve expands into a further question respecting the Gospel which they preached. "What was that form or aspect of Christian truth which is termed by St. Paul the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as contrasted with that of the circumcision" (Gal. ii. 7.), which he speaks of in other places as "my Gospel"? (Rom. ii. 16., xvi. 25.) Or, without insisting on the point of expressions which are somewhat obscure, "What was the difference between the teaching of St. Paul and the Twelve?" Was it one of doctrine or of practice, of belief or of spirit? Viewed as a matter of doctrine or belief the difference was not great. So the Apostle himself seems to allow when denouncing most strongly the Judaizing teachers. All baptized in the name of Christ, with whom the Twelve had walked while He was upon earth, whose witnesses they were; of whom too St. Paul claimed to be a later witness (1 Cor. ix. 1.), as "one born out of due time" (1 Cor. xv. 8.). It was the same Christ whom they preached; there was no dispute about this—"false knowledge" had not yet severed from reality the person of Jesus of Nazareth. "Other foundation could no man lay than that is laid" (1 Cor. iii. 11.), as the Apostle says to the Church at Corinth, though he might build many superstructures. It was not "another Gospel," as he indignantly declares to the Church in Galatia (Gal. i. 7.), for there was not, and could not be another. Or, according to another manner of speaking (2 Cor. xi. 4.), it was still Jesus, though another Jesus; and the Spirit, though another Spirit. In the Church of Rome, as the Apostle writes to the Philippians (Phil. i. 16.), there were those who preached Christ of contention in which the Apostle nevertheless rejoiced, as an honour to the name of Christ. These last words have been already quoted for another object; they may

be referred to once more with the view of showing the toleration of St. Paul. They prove that he regarded not only the twelve Apostles, but some, at least, of his Judaising opponents, as true though erring preachers of the Word of Christ.

Gentile teachers of a later period, whom the Church branded as heretical,—as, for example, Marcion, who professed to follow St. Paul, —renounced the authority of the Old Testament. St. Paul himself also renounces the authority of the Law. But he does not snap the chain of Providence or of history; the God of Abraham is with him the God of the Gentiles also; to him, equally with the Twelve, the Old Testament is the source of the New; the Gospel which he received from Christ he read over again in the Psalms and in the Prophecies. It had been misunderstood or unknown “in the times of that ignorance;” it had now come to light. The same God, who in these last days spoke to men by His Son, had at sundry times and in divers manners spoken in years past to the Fathers by the Prophets. Not the Old and New Testament, but the law, with its burden on the conscience, and its questions respecting meats and drinks, and new moons and sabbaths, contrasted with the Gospel.

Once more: besides the name of Christ and the connexion of the Old and New Testament, another point common to St. Paul and the Twelve was their expectation of the “day of the Lord.” Nowhere does the Apostle appear so much “a Hebrew of the Hebrews,” as in speaking of the invisible world. He opposes this world and the next, as the times before and after the coming of the Messiah were divided by the Jews themselves; he sees them peopled with a celestial hierarchy of good and evil angels. He is waiting for the revelation of Antichrist and the manifestation of the Sons of God. He is living like the other Apostles in the latter days; all that has preceded in Jewish history is leading up to the Advent of Christ. Sudden conversion, miraculous signs, accompany the preaching both of St. Paul and the Twelve. “The Holy Ghost fell upon them as upon us at the beginning,” might have been the description of the Church of Corinth, or of Ephesus, no less than of the Church at

Jerusalem. And, as St. Paul says, in the Epistle to the Romans, in reference to the admission of the Gentiles, "God is no respecter of persons," Peter commences his address to Cornelius with the words, "Of a truth I perceive God is no respecter of persons."

Admitting such points of agreement, the differences lie within comparatively narrow limits; they could not have related to anything that we should consider to be a fundamental article of the Christian faith. The disciples or companions of St. Paul and the Twelve may have felt a sympathy for or antipathy towards the Alexandrian learning. The mere difference of language may have made the same kind of separation between the Church at Jerusalem and those founded by St. Paul, as divides the Old Testament from the later Apocryphal Books. The interval between the three first Gospels, or the Epistle of James and the Epistles of St. Paul, is also a measure of the distance between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Apostles of the Circumcision. An ascetic mode of life may have prevailed more or less among their respective followers. Place alone probably had a great influence. Those who went up to the Temple at the hour of prayer, who lived amid the smoke of the daily sacrifices, could hardly have felt and thought and spoken as the Apostle of the Gentiles, wandering through Greece and Asia, from city to city, in barbarous as well as civilised countries; they at least could not have been expected to say, "Let no man judge you of a New Moon or a Sabbath day." Remaining like our Lord himself within the confines of Judea, there were many truths which "James and the brethren" were not called upon to utter in the same emphatic way as St. Paul.

Such are a few conjectures respecting the nature of the difference which separated St. Paul from the Twelve. The point that is independent of conjecture is that it related to the obligation on the Gentiles to keep the Mosaic Law. It is characteristic of the earliest times of the Church, that the dispute referred to a matter of practice rather than of doctrine. Long ere the Gospel was drawn out in a system of doctrine, the difference between the spirit of Judaism and

Christianity was instinctively felt. Jewish prejudices were sometimes too strong even in the mind of the Christian for the freedom wherewith Christ had made him free. There had been an undergrowth of Christianity in Judaism; there was an overgrowth of Judaism on Christianity. That all nations were to be baptized in the name of Christ, and that there was to be one fold and one Shepherd, had been determined by an authority from which there was no appeal. But whether this extension of the borders of Israel was to be for the glory of Israel, or whether Israel itself was to be lost among "the nations," in what sense "the law was to be fulfilled," or "the temple destroyed," was still left veiled; and declarations apparently opposite, or the same declarations in opposite senses, might be repeated on different sides. The general principle was admitted in words, but in the application of it there was room for difference of practice. Custom did not at once relax its hold. Jewish pride desired to make the Gentiles proselytes of the gate—to draw them on, as a "counsel of perfection," to become proselytes of righteousness by undergoing the rite of circumcision. Jewish nationality fondly hoped that the Saviour of the world would first "restore the kingdom to Israel."

III. Our inquiry reaches a third stage in what may be termed the twilight of Ecclesiastical history—that century after the withdrawal of the Apostles of which we know so little; the aching void of which we are tempted to fill up with the image of the century which follows. It would carry us too far out of our way to put together all the doubtful indications which we find, within and without the Church, of the character of this unknown time. Many powers were at work, of which the names only have been preserved to after ages. Many questions also arise respecting the genuineness of Patristic writings, and the truth of events narrated in them. The "romance of heresy" would be the mist of fiction, through which we should endeavour to penetrate to the light. The origin of Episcopal government, which has a sort of antagonism to heresy, would be one of the elements of our uncertainty. The bearing of the Easter controversy would

demand an investigation. Whether Ebionitism retained any of the features of a primitive Jewish Christianity would also be a serious inquiry. It would be necessary to mount up to a time when opinions, which were afterwards called heresy, were latent in the Church itself. We should have to form a criterion of the credibility of Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. But a subject so wide is matter not for an essay but for a book; it is the history of the Church of the first two centuries. We must therefore narrow our field of vision as much as possible, and content ourselves with collecting a few general facts which have a bearing on our present inquiry.

First among these general facts, is the ignorance of the third and fourth centuries respecting the first, and earlier half of the second. We cannot err in supposing that those who could add nothing to what is recorded in the New Testament of the life of Christ and His Apostles, had no real knowledge of lesser matters, as, for example, the origin of Episcopacy. They could not understand, they were incapable of preserving the memory of a state of the Church which was unlike their own. The contemporaries of the Apostles have nothing to tell of their lives and fortunes; the next generation is also silent; in the third generation the license of conjecture is already rife. No fact worth mentioning can be gathered from the writings of the Apostolical Fathers. Irenæus, who lived about fifty years later, and within a century of St. Paul, has not added a single circumstance to what we gather from the New Testament; he has fallen into the well-known error of supposing that our Lord was fifty years old at the time of his ministry; he has stated also that "Papias was John's hearer, and the associate of Polycarp, though Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, by no means asserts that he was "hearer and eyewitness of the holy Apostles" (Eus. H. E. iii. 39.); he has repeated as a discourse of Christ's the fable of Papias respecting the bunches of grapes; this he would have literally interpreted. Justin, who was somewhat earlier than Irenæus, has given a measure of the knowledge and

criticism of his own age in the story of Simon Magus. Tertullian, at the close of the next century, believed that the emperor Tiberius had consulted the Roman senate respecting the worship of our Lord. (Euseb. H. E. ii. 2.) Eusebius himself verified from the Archives of Edessa the fabulous correspondence of Abgarus and Jesus, and the miraculous narrative which follows. (H. E. i. 13.) In at least half the instances in which we are able to test his quotations from earlier writers, they exhibit some degree of inaccuracy or confusion. It is hard to believe the statement of Polycrates of Ephesus (about A. D. 180), that "John, who rested on the bosom of the Lord, was a priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate" (Eus. II. E. iii. 32.), or that Philip the Evangelist was one of the Twelve Apostles. But what use can be made of such sandy materials? It is idle to have recourse to remote reconcilements when the facts themselves are uncertain; equally so to argue precisely from turns of expression where language is rhetorical.

The second general fact is the unconsciousness of this ignorance, and the readiness with which the vacant space is filled up, and the Church of the second century assimilated to that of the third and fourth. History often conceals that which is discordant to preconceived notions; silently dropping some facts, exaggerating others, adding, where needed, new tone and colouring, until the disguise can no longer be detected. By some process of this kind the circumstance into which we are inquiring has been forgotten and reproduced. Nothing has survived relating to the great crisis which Christianity underwent in the age of the Apostles themselves; it passed away silently in the altered state of the Church and the world. Not only in the strange account of the dispute between the Apostles, given by Origen and others, is what may be termed the "animus" of concealment discernible, but in fragments of earlier writings, in which the two Apostles appear side by side as co-founders of the Corinthian, as well as of the Roman Church (Caius and Dion. of Corinth, quoted by Euseb. ii. 25.), pleading their cause together before Nero; dying on the same day, their graves being appealed to as witnesses

to the tale, probably as early as the first half of the second century. The unconscious motive which gave birth to such fictions was, seemingly, the desire to throw a veil over that occasion on which they withstood one another to the face. And the truth indistinctly shines through this legend of the latter part of the second century, when it is further recorded that St. Paul was at the head of the Gentile Church at Rome, Peter of the circumcision.

Bearing in mind these general considerations, which throw a degree of doubt on the early ecclesiastical tradition, and lead us to seek for indications out of the regular course of history, we have to consider, in reference to our present subject, the following statements:—

1. That Justin, who is recorded to have written against Marcion, refers to the Twelve in several passages, but nowhere in his genuine writings mentions St. Paul. And when speaking of the books read in the Christian assemblies, he names only the Gospels and the Prophets. (Apol. i. 67.)

2. That Marcion, who was nearly contemporary with Justin, is said to have appealed to the authority of St. Paul only.

(On the other hand, it is true that in numerous quotations from the Old Testament, Justin appears to follow St. Paul. It is difficult to account for this singular phenomenon.)

3. That in the account of James the Just, given by Josephus and Hegesippus (about A.D. 170; see above), he is represented as a Jew among Jews; living, according to Hegesippus, the life of a Nazarene; praying in the Temple until his knees became hard as a camel's, and so entirely a Jew as to be unknown to the people for a Christian; a description which, though its features may be exaggerated, yet has the trace of a true resemblance to the part which we find him acting in the Epistle to the Galatians. It falls in, too, with the fact of his peaceable continuance as head of the Church at Jerusalem, in the Acts of the Apostles; and is not inconsistent with the spirit of the Epistle which bears his name. (Comp. Euseb. ii. 23.)

4. That the same Hegesippus regards the heresies as arising out of schism in the Jewish Church. He was himself a Hebrew convert; and after stating that he travelled to Rome, whither he went by way of Corinth, and had familiar conversation with many bishops, he declares "that in every succession and in every city the doctrine prevails according to what is declared by the law and the prophets and the Lord." (Euseb. iv. 22.) This is not the language of a follower of St. Paul.

5. That in the Clementine Homilies, written about the year 160, though a work generally orthodox, St. Paul is covertly introduced under the name of Simon Magus, as the impersonation of Gnostic error, as the enemy who had pretended "visions and revelations," and who "withstood" and blamed Peter. No writer doubts the allusion in some of these passages to the Epistles of St. Paul. Assuming their connexion, we ask, What was the state of mind which led an orthodox Christian, who lived probably at Rome, about the middle of the second century, to affix such a character to St. Paul? and what was the motive which induced him to veil his meaning? What, too, could have been the state of the Church in which such a romance grew up? and how could the next generation have read it without perceiving its true aim? Doubtful as may be the precise answer to these questions, we cannot attribute this remarkable work to the wayward fancy of an individual; it is an indication of a real tendency of the first and second centuries, at a time when the flame was almost extinguished, but still slumbered in the mind of the writer of the Clementine Homilies. It is observable that at a later date, about the year 210—230, in the form which the work afterwards received under the title of "the Clementine Recognitions," which have been preserved in a Latin translation, the objectionable passages have mostly vanished.

6. Lastly, that in later writings we find no trace of the mind of St. Paul. His influence seems to pass from the world. On such a basis "as where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," it might have been impossible to rear the fabric of a hierarchy. But the

thought itself was not present to the next generation. The tide of ecclesiastical feeling set in another direction. It was not merely that after-writers fell short of St. Paul, or imperfectly interpreted him, but that they formed themselves on a different model. It was not only that the external constitution of the Church had received a definite form and shape, but that the inward perception of the nature of the Gospel was different. No writer of the latter half of the second century would have spoken as St. Paul has done of the law, of the sabbath, of justification by faith only, of the Spirit, of grace, of moderation in things indifferent, of forgiveness. An echo of a part of his teaching is heard in Augustine; with this exception, the voice of him who withstood Peter to the face at Antioch was silent in the Church until the Reformation. The spirit of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians has revived in later times. But there is no trace that the writings of the Apostle left any lasting impress within the Church, or perhaps anywhere in the first ages.

Yet the principle of the Apostle triumphed, though at the time of its triumph it may seem to have lost the spirit and power of the Apostle. The struggle which commenced like Athanasius against the world, ended as the struggle of the world against the remnant of the Jewish race. Beginning within the confines of Judea, it spread in a widening circle among the Jewish proselytes, still wider and more faintly marked in the philojudaising Gentile, fading in the distance as Christianity became a universal religion. Two events had a great influence on its progress. First, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the flight to Pella of the Christian community; secondly, the revolt under Barhockab; both tending to separate, more and more, both in fact and the opinion of mankind, the Christian from the Jew.

It would be vain to carry our inquiry further, with the view of gleaning a few results respecting the first half of the second century. Remote probabilities and isolated facts are not worth balancing. The consciousness that we know little of the times

which followed the Apostles is the best part of our knowledge. And many will deem it well for the purity of the Christian faith, that while Christ himself is clearly seen by us,—as a light, at the fountain of which a dead Church may receive life, and a living one renew its strength,—the origin of ecclesiastical institutions has been hidden from our eyes. In the second and third centuries Christianity was extending its borders, fencing itself with creeds and liturgies, taking possession of the earth with its hierarchy. Whether this great organisation was originally everywhere the same, whether it adopted the form chiefly of the Jewish worship and ministry or of the Roman magistracy, or at first of the one and afterwards of the other, cannot be certainly determined. A cloud hangs over the dawn of ecclesiastical history. By some course of events with which we are not acquainted, the Providence of God leading the way, and the thoughts of man following, the Jewish Synagogue became the Christian Church; the Passover was superseded by Easter; the Christian Sunday took the place of the Jewish Sabbath. While the Old Testament retained its authority over Gentile as well as Jewish Christians, the law was done away in Christ, and the Judaiser of the first century became the Ebionitish heretic of the second and third.

ST. PAUL AND PHILO.

“Canst thou speak Greek?” (Acts, xxi. 37.) “Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee” (Acts, xxiii. 6.), “brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect way of the law of the Fathers” (Acts, xxii. 3.).

CHRISTIANITY admits of being regarded either from within or from without. We may begin with our own hearts, with the study of the word of God, with the received views which have grown up within the sphere of the Christian Church; or we may place ourselves without that sphere, and look upon Christianity under the aspect which it presented to the contemporaries of Seneca or Pliny; which it continues to present to the eye of the secular historian. Those who take this latter course are sometimes said to put themselves in a false position, which has no rest or stability, until the heavenly is all brought down to the level of the earthly, and the narrative of Scripture has passed into a merely secular chronicle. The Gospel is thought to lose its sacredness when explained by secondary causes or brought into contact with ordinary events. This feeling has been strengthened by the circumstance that, of the age which immediately preceded Christianity in the land where it arose, so slight a record has been preserved to us. For the first century the Gospel stands in no relation to the contemporary history even of the Jews themselves. There is a circle of light around the forms of Christ and his Apostles; while the world, in reference to our knowledge of it, lies in darkness. Naturally, we make no attempt to supply what may be termed “the blank leaves between the Old and New Testament,” by gathering together a few doubtful fragments; while the

Christian era furnishes a new beginning, to go beyond which seems like asking "what preceded the creation."

Nevertheless, the really false and artificial position is not that which unites, but that which separates Christianity from the world in general. Practical evils arise from this separation, which begins with history and ends with daily life. The Apostles acknowledged that they were men of like passions with ourselves: the world, too, was a world of men like ourselves; swayed by affections, opinions, traditions, requiring ideas to be on a level with human capacities and to be conveyed in an intelligible language. As our Saviour says of the second coming of the Son of man, it may also be said of the first, "they were marrying and were giving in marriage;" their ordinary life was what it had been before; the smoke of the daily sacrifice was still going up; they were disputing about purifying with the disciples of John, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel to be instructed in the Greek learning, of which he was reputed a master. They had their thoughts respecting the tribute money and the Roman government. They knew the difference between their own servile condition and the inheritance of their fathers, of which Moses in the law, and the prophets spoke. They were looking for "the hope of Israel," a few, probably, like Anna, "departing not from the temple night and day;" others ready to take the promises by force in a war against mankind. There were zealots and Essenes among them, though not mentioned in the Gospel, who must have had something in common with the disciples of Christ, and yet more probably with those of John the Baptist. There were characters like Nicodemus or Gamaliel, who regarded with sympathy the new teachers, or waited to see the end; like Caiaphas, who heeded chiefly the political effect on the fortunes of their country. Jewish life was not wanting in individual features; those which have come down to us in the narrative of the Evangelists being such only as contrast most strikingly with the life and sayings of our Lord and his Apostles. Nor were the Jews in the time of Christ without a literature, which had overgrown the Old Testament. In

Judea as well as at Alexandria they were familiar with the version of the LXX. That "the traditions of the Fathers" had formed a part of the education of St. Paul is proved by his allusions to them in the Epistles, no less than by his express statement.

As the "new man" is not altogether different from the old, but retains many elements of the same character, so did the Christian world retain many elements of the Jewish and heathen world which preceded it. As in ages that we know, the earthly and the heavenly, the Church and the world, have ever been mingled together, both within and without us, so in the first age with which we are acquainted only from the record of Scripture itself, "the wheat and the tares" were growing together; false and true brethren met together in the same Church. Nor must we confine the connexion of cause and effect to mere historical events, such as the fall of Jerusalem or the extension or decay of the Roman Empire; or to the political influences which more immediately affected the infant Communion. There is a sequence of thoughts as well, by which age is bound to age; and that which in one generation is "sown in corruption" is in the next "raised in incorruption;" scattered fragments unite into an harmonious whole; what was barren speculation once, becomes a practical rule of life; forms of thought spiritualise themselves; language dead for ages awakens into life.

When, turning away from the heavenly origin of Christianity, we trace the first steps of its earthly progress, we cannot avoid putting the question to ourselves, how it was made intelligible to the minds of Jews, who had been trained in a religion and way of thinking so different from it. The difficulty is analogous to that which our own missionaries experience in attempting to explain to the Chinese or the American Indians the nature of God. Their language has no words to express what is meant, or only words the associations of which confuse or mislead. We sometimes imagine that preaching the Gospel among the heathen only means persuading men who have the same minds with ourselves to be of the same opinions with us; more truly, the work which we have to do is nothing short of

creating their minds anew. Now the same difficulty must have pressed upon the first teachers of the Gospel. Where did they find words in which to express themselves? How was the interval spanned which separated not only different nations, but different races of mankind? Whence came the forms of speech and modes of thought which, for nearly eighteen centuries, have been the symbols and landmarks of Christian theology? Some of them are derived from the Old Testament, but many are peculiar to the New; and those which are common to both often receive a new turn of signification in the Christian use of them, which needs explanation. For example, the words λόγος (the Word), πνεῦμα (the Spirit), the idea of the Son of God, or the son of man, would have been unmeaning to those who were told of them for the first time, and had nothing analogous in their own thought or speech. To have given a Greek in the time of Socrates a notion of what was meant by the Holy Spirit would have been like giving the blind a conception of colours, or the deaf of musical sounds. Other ideas of the Gospel, as grace, faith, mercy, life, death, which occur in the Old Testament, are nevertheless used there in a sense so partial and so different from that of the New, that an intermediate step has to be supplied before we can understand how they could have taken hold on the minds of men, as the expressions of the truths which were revealed in the Gospel.

As we suffer our minds to dwell, not on the perfected form, but on the beginnings and antecedents and human elements of Christianity, the same difficulty appears in another point of view, in relation to the teachers as well as to the hearers of the Gospel. It is a point of view which is not often suggested to us; common notions take another direction. As persons who have no education imagine that the authorised English version is the original of the Scriptures, so too scholars are apt to think and write as though the Greek of the New Testament were the original language in which Christianity was first conceived. But our Lord and his Apostles were Galileans, whose familiar speech could never have

been Greek. There was, if we may use an expression which sounds almost like a contradiction in terms, a Hebrew Christianity yet earlier than the New Testament, the memorials of which are preserved to us in the translation only. How did this Hebrew or Chaldaic or Syriac Christianity pass into a language so different as the Greek? What were those predisposing circumstances in the world which made it possible that the ideas of one nation should be adopted by another? that the words of our Saviour and the Twelve experienced no let or hindrance as they reached the confines of Judea, but passed insensibly to the Gentiles? that St. Paul, too, could have spoken of grace, faith, the Spirit, if not as powers of which his first hearers had an experimental knowledge, at any rate as sounds the meaning of which they understood?

These two questions are closely connected, and the answer to both may be gathered, to a great extent, from the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy. There the missing link is found supplied; we see that the Greek and Hebrew mind had already bridged the chasm that separated them, and that before the times of our Lord and his Apostles the Greek language had been forced into the service of Jewish thoughts. Persons have sometimes spoken of modern civilisation including in itself two elements, a Greek and a Semitic one; but the fusion between them is not of modern or Christian origin; it dates further back, to the period of Alexander's conquests. After the establishment of the Greek kingdom of Alexander's successors, Greek became a familiar language, not only in Asia and Egypt, but also in Judea. The Jew in other countries, who spoke and wrote in Greek, was not cut off from intercourse with his Palestine brethren, and new ideas and opinions readily passed from one to the other. But Alexandria was the centre of the fusion; there the Jew and the Greek may be said to have mingled minds; the books of Moses and the prophets and the dialectic of Plato and Aristotle met together, giving birth to the strangest eclectic philosophy that the world has ever seen. This philosophy was Judaism and Platonism at once; the belief in a personal God assimilated to the doctrine of ideas.

The Jew of Alexandria had lost nothing of the intense devotion to the law which was to be found among his Palestine brethren; only coming, as he did, under an opposite influence, from which he could not detach himself, he sought to add to the book of the law the wisdom of the Greek; or rather, however paradoxical it may seem, fancied he saw in both a deep-rooted identity. During two centuries this composite system had been attaining a kind of consistency, it had acquired a technical language of its own, and had modes of interpreting the Old Testament which, in the age of Philo had already become traditional. Alexandrianism gave the form and thought; Judaism the life and power. The God, who brought up his people out of the land of Egypt, was still stronger than the ideal image of the same God revealing himself in Greek philosophy; while from Greek philosophy the Jew of Alexandria borrowed those distinctions which enabled him to conceive more perfectly the abstraction of the Divine nature.

Philo, the only philosopher of this school whose works have come down to us, except in fragments, fortunately lived at a time which renders them peculiarly valuable for the purpose of our inquiry. According to the tradition of the Rabbis, he is said to have flourished about a hundred years before the destruction of the temple. But his own writings give us the date more precisely; as, from the "Legatio ad Caium," in which he describes himself as an old man at the time of writing (*ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες τὰ μὲν σώματα χρόνον μήκει πάλαιοι*, Mangey, ii. 545.), it appears that he went on an embassy to Rome in the hope of gaining the protection of the emperor Caligula for the persecuted Jews of Alexandria, and was at Rome at the time the emperor attempted to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem (Mangey, ii. 573.); also between the years 39 A. D., the date of the German victory to which he makes allusion (Mangey, ii. 598.), and 41, which was the year of Caligula's death. He refers, moreover, to a circumstance which happened under Claudius (ii. 576.), thus showing that the date of the composition of his work, though seemingly not long after, is not absolutely contemporary. His other

writings—with the exception of the “*Contra Flaccum*,” which seems to describe the same state of continuous persecution among the Alexandrian Jews, and may have been written about the same time—are probably earlier than the “*Legatio ad Caium*.”

Thus we see that in reading Philo we are on the edge of Christianity. Philo might have seen and spoken with our Lord, and possibly did so in the visit to the temple which he mentions (Mangey, ii. 646.). Were it not for the distance between Alexandria and Judea, we should say that he must have breathed the same air, and been educated in the same belief and ways of thought, as the first disciples. He would have been just what Apollos of Alexandria was before his conversion, “an eloquent man, learned in the Scriptures.” Nor is there any reason to doubt that the speculations of Alexandria and a knowledge of the Greek language had been transplanted to Judea. The traditions of Judaism expressly speak of Greek learning being cultivated in some of the Rabbinical schools. The coincidences between Philo and St. Paul and St. John are another evidence that such must have been the case. For how did these coincidences arise? Either by Philo copying from St. Paul, which is refuted by dates; or (to omit the case of St. Paul and St. John copying from Philo, as not worth considering) by the circumstance of their living in a common atmosphere and using a common language. The Greek of the New Testament, when compared with that of the LXX., appears of itself to afford a proof of a long continued cultivation and development of the language among Jews of Palestine; and the comparatively distant, though not less real connexion of the writings of Philo and the New Testament also tends to show the widely spread diffusion of the same habit of thought.*

* In the following sketch I have to acknowledge many obligations to Gfrörer's work, “*Philo und die Jüdisch-Alexandrinische Theologie*,” which was the first, and is still the fullest and most complete, inquiry into the present subject. In some respects he appears to me unsatisfactory. 1st. He has exaggerated the resemblances between Philo and the New Testament, making them, I think, more real and less verbal than they are in fact. 2ndly. From the plan of his work

Philo is bound up with his age and country, of the literary character of which his works are the chief monument. The key to them is the character of that age, viewed in connexion with which they are a curious chapter in the history of the human mind; apart from it they wear only the appearance of learned trifling. No real mental phenomenon is thus unmeaning; the eccentric fancies of an individual are commonly worthless; but a phase of thought which has overspread the world, though equally "the fabric of a vision," is always interesting and important. The age of the Alexandrian philosophy has a deceitful resemblance with our own, and yet in many respects is more different from us than the classical times of Greece and Rome. It has forms of logic and rhetoric, and abundance of abstract terms, in which all ideas are moulded and balanced; yet combined with this logical and rhetorical accuracy, there is an entire absence of speculation or of common sense. Nothing is understood truly; everything becomes a dream of words; facts, the only source of real knowledge, are neglected. It is difficult to us to

there arises an impression which is disadvantageous to the New Testament, as he brings together in one the coincidences scattered through many volumes, and which, as we read them in Philo himself, have less of prominence and importance. 3rdly. He loses sight of the difference of spirit in the New Testament and Philo; as Philo himself remarks on "the concentrated style" of the Old Testament, it may be observed also of the New that the absence of rhetoric strikingly distinguishes the writers of the New Testament from Philo, as well as from most Greek writers of their age. 4thly. He often speaks as though Philo had a system of philosophy independent of the Mosaic writings. Is he not rather a theologian than a philosopher? Like modern theologians who have fallen under the influence of systems of philosophy in the interpretation of Scripture, he applied the Neoplatonism of his day to the interpretation of the Mosaic writings, which form the true circle in which his system is contained.

I have also to acknowledge that I have derived assistance from the elaborate article of Dähne on Philo in Ersch and Grüber's *Encyclopædia*, and from the account of Philo in Ewald's recently published volume.

The older work of Bryant is likewise curious and interesting, because he traces the resemblance between Philo and the New Testament, in the belief that Philo borrowed from the Apostles. Hence he will be considered by many as an unsuspected witness to the reality of these resemblances.

comprehend, but it is nevertheless true, that to have explained a few verses of the law or the prophets in their natural sense was beyond the power of the teachers of Alexandria. They could reason upon them, they could paraphrase them, they could allegorise them, but they could not interpret them; they could not fix their minds on the text itself; they were not simple enough to get at the original meaning. Besides this over-logical and over-rhetorical character, another peculiarity of the age is antiquarianism; it is encumbered with the opinions of the past. Nature had once overpowered and carried captive the mind of man; books now did so. The same devotion, which had formerly dwelt with awe on the terrors of the world without, now turned with mystic reverence to the letter of ancient writings. The earlier Greek philosophy was without antecedents; it came fresh from the soul of the philosopher, casting his eyes downward on the earth beneath his feet, and upward to the blue sky. It was a new birth; its connexion even with mythology was unconscious. But the secondary age of which we are speaking, learned and not original, having a form of speculation without the power thereof, ever recurring to the past, yet utterly devoid of true criticism or of historical insight, was embarrassed with the ideas of a prior world which it could neither accept nor reject, having too its own further ground, from which it was equally impossible to recede. There was no other way but to carry past philosophies in its train, uniting them all with each other and with itself, as fancy or association might suggest.

Philosophy has been sometimes regarded as the free effort of the human mind towards the attainment of truth by abstract ideas. Nothing could less truly describe the character of the Alexandrian school, which was the creation of circumstances, predestined from its birth to be what it was. It had no capacity of resisting new thoughts, from whatever source they were intruded. The therapeutæ of Alexandria could no more disengage himself from the worship of ideas than the Greek of Homer's time from the Greek mythology. Some plastic power reproduced in his mind the impressions

which he received. No one asked is this reasonable, is this consistent, is there any proof of this? Every influence mingled and was reflected. The age was over-educated for its natural force. It was an age of imitation, the literature of which displayed no true feeling or creative power, and had no grasp of history or of life. Never perhaps has there existed another age, with so much apparent cultivation, so utterly a stranger to the first principles of knowledge.

This philosophy received a peculiar character from its connexion with Judaism. As in later times the Christian Fathers, when they passed beyond the immediate circle of Christianity, awoke to the fact that God had not left himself without a witness, even in the writings of Greek philosophers; so too the Jew of Alexandria, first coming into contact with the stores of heathen wisdom, "the good, the beautiful, and the true," could not fail of receiving a more than transient impression from them. But in such a mind the difficulty arose, — Whence had these men such wisdom? The received answer with Philo was that they had it from Moses himself. Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, were implicitly contained in the Pentateuch; nay, they are even blamed for not acknowledging the source whence they derived their wisdom. Moses himself "at an early age attained the very summits of philosophy" (Philo de Creat. Mun. c. 2.), or, in the language of Scripture, was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." In the same spirit that the heathen Neoplatonist invented travels of Plato and Pythagoras in Egypt or India, as he obtruded upon them oriental conceptions, did the Jew of Alexandria assert that the connexion which his own wayward fancy had invented between Plato and Moses was based upon an historical fact.

A great interval seems to separate the Platonic ideas from "the Lord God who brought up the children of Israel out of the house of Egypt." In Plato the ideas come first; they are prior to all phenomena, and any attempt to describe them as residing in an infinite mind reaches beyond his conception of them. But the Alexandrian

philosophy had made this further step; its ideas were already embodied in a person; and, on the other hand, the conception of God, which was held by the Israelite himself, was not absolutely the same with that which had prevailed in the earlier period of Jewish history. Change of time and place had exercised an influence on the Jewish faith; it had become more a philosophy and less a mode of life. The scenes of the history of the Jews, witnessed by so many local monuments, were afar off. They were dwelling in a foreign country, and using a foreign language; they had adopted the Greek version of the Scriptures; many of them were leading a peculiar and ascetic life. The temple and the temple sacrifices were in another land, seen through distance, solemn religious ideas, rather than outward and visible facts. The Jew of Alexandria, "*homo desideriorum*," still sought for something more than this, and confessed that in Egypt at least "he was a stranger and pilgrim upon the earth."

The great instrument whereby Greek philosophy was brought into harmony with the Jewish Scriptures was allegorical interpretation. When the belief in the Greek mythology began to wax dim, two means were taken to give the semblance of reality to the dreams of the past. First, they were allegorised; secondly, they were rationalised. From the second of these methods, supposing it could have been applied to the Hebrew Scriptures, the mind of the Israelite would have turned away with disgust. But the first of them was just suited to his fancy; even his reverence for the letter of Scripture tended to foster rather than to discourage it. For what unknown mysteries might he not expect to find there? What wonder if God spake not to His servant Moses as one man speaks to another? It was not to be expected that the divine language should be easy and intelligible; rather it might be imagined that a labyrinth of truths would lurk behind every numeral or particle. The whole system of Philo may be described as rhetoric turned logic; ignorant of the true nature of language, presuming on its accuracy, allowing nothing for its uncertainty and irregularity, he

infers endless consequences from trivial expressions. "He says this, he does not say that;" therefore some false and far-fetched deduction is to be drawn. "His expressions are the most perfect that can be conceived, yet how do they fall short of his thought!" "Everywhere there are marks of design, in the structure of sentences no less than in the creation of the world." "It cannot be supposed that an inspired writer would use one word instead of another without good reason." The worst extravagances of mystical interpretation among the Fathers, combined with the most tedious platitudes of a modern sermon, will convey an idea of the manner in which Philo "improves" Scripture.

A few more characteristics of his system will serve as an introduction to the tenets of the system itself.

First, he is absolutely devoid of any historical sense of truth. He has no perception of the characters about whom he is speaking, or the scenes in which they lived. The features which he attributes to them are generally taken from some chance expression or incidental circumstance. There is no attempt to group them in one, or analyse their connexion with each other; he is incapable of comprehending them as men of like passions with ourselves. To him they are types and symbols of which he reads in the Book of the Law. It would not be true to say that his interpretations uniformly supersede the historical meaning; but, on the other hand, he is wholly indifferent to it. Secondly, he may be said to adapt the words of Scripture to his own moral ideas. Where any narrative in the Book of the Law seems to him unworthy of the writer, or discordant with his own belief — he turns aside into the flowery paths of allegory. He would sooner a thousand times renounce the meaning of the text, than admit in the earlier chapters of Genesis a visible appearance of God. Often he has recourse to pious frauds; the words "Noah was drunken," he explains as equivalent to "he used the wine" (*Quæstiones in Genesin*, ii. 68.; compare *Legum Allegoriæ*, ii. 16.); and he further goes on to praise the Patriarch for "being naked in his own house," and not out of doors. Of such expressions as "God re-

pented," he says nearly as we should do, that they are accommodations: "Every expression of this sort is connected with learning and the utility of instruction, rather than with the nature of truth." (Quæst. in Gen. ii. 54.) Thirdly, he, in general, pays no regard to the connexion of a passage; each clause, and sometimes each word, is considered by itself, so that even if we were to admit the principle of his interpretations, the whole narrative is hardly ever consistent with itself; commonly a new connexion is elicited by the adaptation of the types to one another, just as we can imagine a person with a wrong key, yet by the help of enthusiasm and a flexible system of symbols, interpreting the hieroglyphics, or the Sinaitic inscriptions. Fourthly, in his interpretations he adopts fixed signs: as sheep for the affections, holes for the senses; a field is explained to mean a struggle, Egypt is the seat of the passions; Cain means folly and also possession; Sarah is the mother of opinion, Hagar encyclical knowledge; Adam is the mind, Eve the outward sense, and the like. The uniformity with which several of these signs are used is one proof among many that Philo was not the first inventor of them, but that they were conventional among his countrymen. Fifthly, it may be observed that his almost entire ignorance of Hebrew leads him to build solely on the Greek text, in the explanation of which he often seeks to gather a profound meaning from mere awkwardness of translation. Thus, for instance, he says that the word *προσέθηκε*, in the account of the birth of Abel, implies a previous *ἀφαίρεσις* (Mangey, i. 163.); and that *θανάτω θανατούμεθα*, in the narrative of the fall (i. 65.), must refer to two kinds of death, for how, he asks, can a man die except by death? Sixthly, he perpetually raises unmeaning questions, which he disposes of by still more unmeaning answers; e.g., "Why Adam and Eve sewed fig leaves into girdles? Because the fruit of the fig is very sweet, and its leaves hard; that is to say, pleasure is slippery and smooth in appearance, but in reality hard." "Why did the deluge take place in the 600th year of the life of Noah, and in the seventh month, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month?"

and endless similar inquiries, with a "firstly," "secondly," "thirdly," reaching sometimes to a "seventhly" or "eighthly." (Quæstiones in Genesin, i. 18. 30. 40. 41., ii. 16.) But no where is Philo's extravagance so glaring as in his tricks with numbers. For every number or proportion which occurs he has a reason. The mention of a six, or a twelve, or, above all, a seven, calls up a train of thought in his mind, which commonly extends over several pages, and is with difficulty brought to a termination. (Comp. Quæst. in Gen. i. 83. 91., ii. 5. 12. 14., iii. 38. 39.) Arithmetic exercises the same influence over him which astrology continued to exercise a thousand years later.

The system of Philo is at once mystical and logical. Mysticism is the end, logic is the means, if, indeed, that can be termed logic which is absolutely devoid of the first principles of reasoning. Or rather, perhaps, logic is only the method which mysticism pursues ("though this be madness, yet there's method in it"). Philo is a kind of prophet, as well as a rhetorician. He himself regarded the allegorical interpretation as a sort of secondary inspiration with which he was gifted; he had often felt its power in composition, when, as he tells us, new ideas came into his mind, he knew not how or whence. "He was empty and became full; thoughts rained into his soul from above; he was in a trance, and had a flow of interpretation, and an enjoyment of light." (i. 441.; compare also i. 144.) Those who partook of the same gift were *ἱεροί, καθαροί, μῦσται* (i. 147.); he exhausts in their praises all the terms which the heathen applied to the initiated. A select few only were thus inspired; unlike "to the poor the Gospel is preached," *τῶν ἀγελαιῶν οὐδὲις*, says Philo, *τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζωῆς κεκοινῶνῃκε* (no common man hath part in the true life). But the allegorical interpretation was also a dialectical and traditional art. As the Patristical explanations of Scripture were under a kind of authority, as in our own interpretations of the Book of Revelation a certain uniformity may be observed notwithstanding the many discrepancies of detail, so the allegory of Philo was not without a settled principle. He himself speaks of

τὸς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας (the canons of allegory). Its first symbols, such as the sun for reason, or the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, were such as the common sense of all men, or the text itself, naturally suggested. In after times they were neither natural nor arbitrary, but fixed by use and the authority of eminent teachers. The interpretation of them, like the interpretation of tongues in the New Testament, was a religious service. Philo speaks of the Essenes in Palestine, and the Therapeutæ in the neighbourhood of the lake Mæris (ii. 458. 475.), as meeting together on the Sabbath day, and above all on the Sabbath of Sabbaths, to interpret the law in its hidden sense. The Therapeutæ had "compilations of ancient men," out of which they taught the allegorical method, and hymns which formed a part of the worship. Philo's own writings are a sufficient indication that new discoveries were not excluded. He reads the Book of the Law like a hieroglyph containing endless symbols hard to be understood, in which one sign has many meanings, and many signs are applied to the same truth.

Yet, as we wander in this labyrinth of folly, another aspect of his works must not be altogether forgotten. It is true that there is no puerility which may not be extracted from them; no exaggeration of fact or language which may not be found in Philo's pages. Even in his two historical treatises, it is hard to place confidence in his statements. And still he leaves the impression upon us of a great and good man. His whole life is a perseverance in philosophy, from which he is only called away to plead the cause of his suffering countrymen; his precepts everywhere breathe the spirit of the purest, almost of an ascetic morality; and in many respects he may be favourably contrasted with Plato. Unlike the Athenian philosopher, he everywhere preserves the sense of the feebleness of the human intellect in the pursuit of truth; and he has far juster notions of the relation of man to God, and of social and family life. In point of literary merit it would be idle to compare them; the golden age of Greece has nothing in common with "the dregs" of Alexandria. Yet Philo, notwith-

standing his intensely rhetorical tendency, is far from having lost all traces even of true dignity of style. His great object was certainly a noble one—to enlighten his own nation, and in some degree the Gentile world, respecting the nature of the Jewish religion, read as it could only be read in Alexandria, by the light of Greek learning, and adapted to the moral ideas of his own age. If discarding the method we regard only the end, Philo will stand high among ethical teachers.

The system of Philo may, in one point of view, be considered as his method of interpreting the Mosaic Scriptures. For without this he has no system. All his thoughts are incrustated on the divine word; it would be a violence to arrange them independently. It seemed to him that God had only revealed Himself to the Jewish people; and accordingly the glosses and patchwork of Greek philosophy which he introduces into the text are not additions of his own, but its natural meaning. Or, to state the same thing in a way which is more paradoxical, and yet better expresses his view, the Mosaic law was the natural and original form of the Platonic and Alexandrian philosophy.

His writings include nearly a complete series of commentaries on the Book of the Law. No other books form the subject of any of his separate works. Many are not even mentioned by him; the few that are mentioned supplying but a small number of quotations, not perhaps more than one in twenty, compared with the books of Moses. It is not certain that Philo excluded any of our received books from the Canon of Scripture; but neither is there any proof that the idea of the Canon was known to him at all. In repeating the famous narrative of the LXX. (ii. 139.), he confines the miracle to the Pentateuch. The prophets are commonly quoted by him in a singular manner, with the introduction, *εἰπέ τις τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν*, or *τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωϋσεως*. Their words are chiefly used in illustration, and not made the basis of allegorical interpretations. Taking these circumstances together, it seems probable that in the view of Philo the law stood on a different footing from other

writings of the Old Testament, though it does not follow that he drew any explicit distinction between them.

It is in the Pentateuch, and especially in the history of the creation, and the lives of the patriarchs, that his mystic fancy delights to revel. A short analysis of his treatise "De Mundi Creatione," including as it does most of his peculiarities, will give the reader a more lively idea of his method of proceeding than any further description. His commentary on the first chapter may be summed up as follows :—

1. 2. He begins with the praises of Moses, whose thoughts are indeed beyond all praise ; who had gone to the very end of philosophy, and knew well that there must be a δραστήριον ὄργανον (an active instrument), that is God, and a παθητικὸν ὄργανον (a passive instrument), without life or motion, answering to intellect and matter, which latter it were absurd to suppose without beginning. He says that God made the world in six days, not because He had need of time, but because six is a perfect number, capable of being divided by two, by three, and by six, and is male and female, and odd and even (ἀρτιοπέριτρος). And before God created it He made an intellectual world (κόσμος νοητός) to be the paradigm and idea of it, which is none other but the reason of God (ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα, ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, ὁ Θεοῦ λόγος). This he did, as one of old said (Plato, Tim. 29.), "because He was good, which goodness of His He imparts to all things as they are able to bear it."

Still confining himself to the intellectual world, Philo goes on to remark that the words in the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ) must be explained not of time, for time had not yet come into existence, but of number and order ("non in tempore sed eum tempore finxit Deus mundum." *Augustine*). He describes the form of the heaven and empty space which God made after the pattern of His own mind ; the chiefest things in which were light and air, the images of the reason of God, and of the spirit of God. Thus the creation of the intellectual world had an end. To mark its isolation from the rest, the word used in the fifth verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis is not "the first day" (πρώτη), but "one day" (μία).

He next discourses of the heaven which is the visible boundary of the world (*οὐρανὸς ὅρος ὁρατός*), of the “sea and dry land,” and of the fruits of the earth, which latter, he observes, grew up in a moment, and yet were intended by Providence to be eternal. He remarks on the apparent inconsistency of the plants springing up before the sun, which he thinks was done to show the creative power of God, who was capable of acting no less without than with the intervention of second causes. He then speaks of the creation of the sun on the fourth day, which was not of choice, but of necessity, seeing the number four is possessed of so many and such wonderful properties.

Fishes, birds, and beasts, were next created in a continuous series, and at the last God made man in his own image; not that God is in the form of man, but that the mind is to man what God is to the world. He says let “us” make man, not as of one but as of many. Why is the plural used? Philo is uncertain how to explain this, but thinks that it may arise from the fact, that God was creating a being of mixed nature, in whom He Himself implanted the good, and employed angels to assist in adding the evil. Next, the question arises, —Why did God create man last? Four answers are given to this inquiry:—1st, because God, having given man reason, desired to provide a theatre for his intelligence, and also, 2ndly, to furnish him with the means of supplying his natural wants (for in the state of innocence the earth produced all things necessary for the good of man, and may do so again if men cease from their wickedness); 3rdly, by reason of the order of His work, which required that He should place man, the highest of corruptible things, at the end, as He has placed heaven, the highest of incorruptible things, at the beginning; 4thly, man was created last to be the master of the rest; he is the pilot, the herdsman, the driver of the inferior animals.

(From a comparison of the commentary on the next chapter, it appears that Philo is here speaking, not of the actual but of the ideal man. Finding in chap. ii. a recommencement of the history of the

creation of man, he knew no way to account for it except by this distinction.)

When the heavens and the earth were completed, God hallowed the seventh day. Here Philo branches forth into the praises of the number seven, in a digression which occupies many pages. He first divides seven into two kinds, ἔκτος τῆς δέκαδος and περιεχόμενον ἐν τῇ δέκαδι (outside ten and within ten), meaning, by the first of the two, arithmetical progression of seven numbers, with intervals of twos or threes, containing the image of cube and square, of essence and superficies. Again, he takes the simple number seven, and shows all the modes in which its units are combined, and how their harmonies are the first principles of music and geometry. Seven is like God, “neither begetting nor begotten” (οὔτε γεννῶν οὔτε γεννώμενος); like Victory, whom poets fable to have had no mother; like Minerva, springing at once out of the head of Divinity. It agrees with nature, and, if multiplied by four, answers to the time of the moon (28). Solon and Hippocrates tell of the seven ages of man. It is a cube and a plane figure at once. All nature is in love with it. There are 7 planets, 7 zones, 7 Pleiades, 7 senses, 7 parts of the human body, 7 secretions, 7 motions, 7 months’ children, 7 strings to the lyre, 7 vowels, &c. Great as it is, it is appropriately named ἀπὸ τοῦ σεπτασμοῦ and σεμνοῦ (ἑπτα=septem).

At ver. 4. of chap. ii. he dwells on the form of the sentence, “These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field *before* it was in the earth, and every herb of the field *before* it grew.” This, he says, refers to the intellectual world, which was completed *before* the actual world came into existence. Next he enlarges upon the 6th verse—“then went up a mist (in the LXX., fountain) from the earth,” in reference to which he remarks upon the wonderful sagacity of Moses, who distinguished the ocean, the fourth element, from fresh water, which, like the catamenia in women, existed in the bosom of the earth.

Next man was formed; not he of whom we spoke before, who was in the image of God, and belonged only to the intellectual world, but visible to sight, and with distinction of sex. He was formed in the best manner, doubtless for many reasons:—First, because the earth of which he was made was recently separated from water; secondly, because it was clay; thirdly, because God is good. He was created in the youth of all things, inferior to the ideal man, but far superior to anything which we can now show, for the copies have been becoming weaker, the attraction of the magnet fainter, by being imparted. He came not into a world of solitude, but to a great city full of corporeal and incorporeal essences. He is both mortal and immortal, made up of the four elements, and at once terrestrial, aquatic, volatile, celestial. Neither have his posterity altogether lost their pre-eminence, for they still rule over the brute creation, which God, as soon as he was created, asked him to name; not because He could be ignorant Himself, but that He might hear him exercising his reason in its most pure and perfect state.

Thus far he was in the image of God alone upon the earth. Woman was the beginning of his guilt. He saw the double and half of himself (*διττὰ τμήματα* of Plato's *Symposium*), and was led by the impulse of desire to unite himself therewith. This was the commencement of bodily pleasure. Before this, God had planted a garden in Paradise of trees bearing immortal fruit. Not that there really *could* have been such a place; but Paradise means the reason, and the myriad plants are opinions, and the trees of good and evil are prudence and piety; and the serpent is the symbol of pleasure, sent by God to seduce the woman (who is in fact *αἴσθησις*, “sense,” the feminine part of our nature), who in her turn seduced the reason.

Philo proceeds:—“Now these things are not mythical inventions, such as delight the herd of poets and of sophists, but they are types inviting to allegory in accordance with their secret meaning.” He then follows out the various symbols in detail. God sent a curse

upon man and upon all creation. He might have destroyed them, but of His infinite mercy He allowed them to remain.

Philo concludes by a summary of five things which he says Moses incidentally teaches in his history of Creation. I. That there is a God, against atheists. II. That He is one God, against those who transfer to heaven the meanest form of human governments, an ochlocracy. III. That the world was created. IV. That this created world was one like its Creator. V. That there is a Providence. Happy is he who knows this !

In this brief analysis of a considerable work, it has been impossible to do justice to its rhetorical, or, in a few passages, to its poetical character. It gives, however, a fair notion of many of Philo's peculiarities, such as the extraordinary importance which he attaches to principles of number, and the manner in which he builds startling theories on hypercritical remarks on the language, and on miserable etymologies. It illustrates, further, the mode in which he presses heathen writers into the service of the books of Moses. Necessity, or rather some numerical law, is always in the background: the remembrance of Plato, and even of the categories of Aristotle, is never far off. The passage in which he speaks of the use of the plural in the creation of man, and not, as he expressly remarks, of the inanimate creation, is remarkable as indicating a close connexion between his view and the Gnostic or Oriental doctrine, that God made evil with the assistance of an inferior angel or demiurge. Lastly, the distinction which he attempts to establish between a myth and a type is worthy of attention, as, however arbitrary his method of proceeding may appear, it indicates his unshaken belief that he had discovered the true objective meaning of the Book of the Law.

The commentary which commences with the narrative of the creation, is carried through the rest of the book of Genesis, and extends also to the books of Exodus and Leviticus. Many of the thoughts contained in the first part of this commentary occur, with some differences, in the three extant books of "*Questiones et Solu-*

tiones in Genesin," which have been preserved in the Armenian, and are translated by Aucher into Latin; this, in the opinion of Ewald, is the earliest of Philo's writings. The later portions are full of an eclectic moral philosophy, with which he delights to overlay the characters of Scripture. Philo is especially full on the lives of the Patriarchs, whom he regards as *τρόποι ψυχῆς*, and *ἐμψυχοι νόμοι*. Thus Abraham is the type of the good man, *ἐκ διδασκαλίας*; Isaac, *ἐκ φύσεως*; Jacob, *ἐξ ἀσκήσεως*. Sarah is *τρόπος τῆς ἀρετῆς γενικῆς*; Leah, *τῆς ἀρετῆς μισουμένης*; Joseph is the *πολιτικός* (Mangey, ii. 9.). Of the earlier ones, Adam is the *ἄνθρωπος γηγενής*, or *χοϊκός*; Cain is the type of covetousness; Enos of hope; Enoch of repentance (this explanation apparently arises out of a misconception of the word *μετέθηκε* in the LXX., see Mangey, ii. 3, 4.); Noah of righteousness. (Mangey, ii. 3. 5. 9. 36. 408—416.) Nor is it merely the names or general characters of the Patriarchs in which he finds materials for symbolism. The commonest statements respecting them, or the simplest events of their lives, receive a similar explanation. Take the following as an illustration (Mangey, i. 466.; ii. 11, 12.):—Philo is commenting on the narrative of Abraham going forth from Ur of the Chaldees to dwell in Haran. Ur, he says, signifies astrology; Haran signifies holes, that is, the senses: if we put both together, the meaning of God's command will be,—"Leave thy Chaldean astrology;" cease contemplating the world around thee, and contemplate thyself. Thy senses will teach thee a new lesson, that they are nothing without the soul. Immediately after this, he remarks that God appeared to Abraham: *ὁ Θεὸς ὤφθη τῷ σοφῷ*; not, he remarks, *ὁ σοφὸς εἶδε Θεόν*, for no man can know God except so far as God reveals Himself to him. In this he finds a proof of the truth of his explanation, as also in the circumstance that at this time God changed the name Abram, which he interprets "sublime father," occupied with Chaldean astronomy, into Abraham, which means, he tells us, "elect father of sound:" "elect" referring to his goodness; "sound" meaning speech or language, the father of which is mind. (i. 103. 139. 140.) The last pilgrimage from Haran to

Palestine he explains to mean, the progress from sense to the true and perfect knowledge of God.

Another example may be selected from the book "*de Somniis*," in which Philo takes occasion to explain the verses, Gen. xxviii. 10, 11., Ἰακώβ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Χαρρὰν καὶ ὑπῆντησε τόπῳ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖ, ἔδυν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος (Mangey, i. 638.). The explanation is as follows: while the ascetic, ὁ ἀσκήτης, lived in the senses, he met the divine word (who, as the fulness of all spiritual power committed to him by God, is symbolised by place). "For the sun went down," i. e., in other words, the light of human reason had set, or, according to another interpretation, the word appeared when the light of the divine presence had set. It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the perversity and inconsistency of this explanation, which seems to have arisen from Philo preserving a fixed meaning, which we find recurring in other places for the same words: for Haran the senses, for τόπος either God or the λόγος, for ἥλιος the light of divine or human reason. The problem was, how these three counters could be connected with each other.

One more example may be added, which exhibits the tendency of Philo to digress upon a word. It is taken from the book entitled, "*Quod potiori deterior insidiari solet*," the text of which is the death of Abel. It begins with the words, Cain said unto Abel, his brother, "Let us go into the field. And it came to pass that Cain rose up against his brother and slew him." What Cain proposes to do is this: having by invitation led Abel on to a dispute, to convince him by main force, using plausible and probable sophisms; for the field to which he invites him to come, we may call a symbol of rivalry and contention. For "field" is now substituted "plain;" and a sudden transition is made to Joseph, with his coat of many colours, going to visit his brethren who are tending their sheep in the plain. That he has a coat of many colours, signifies that he is an interpreter of labyrinth-like learning, and he goes to unlearn this wisdom to men who are tending their sheep, that is, controlling their irrational affections in a place of conflict. So wholly unconnected, and even

at variance, with the moral of the text, is that moral which Philo attempts to elicit from it.

The inquiry which we have thus far pursued tends to throw a favourable light on the mystical interpretation of the early Christian Fathers. For the utmost that can be said against them is, that they were on a level with their age, and did not shake off the scholastic trammels in which they had been brought up. The allegorical method was as natural in their day as the devotional or critical in our own. It had existed four centuries before them: it seemed to be the only means of making use of the Old Testament Scriptures. If from time to time they are found making extravagant suppositions to support a favourite theory, playing with words, numbers, or colours, reading the Old Testament backwards, that they may absolutely identify it with the New, we may compare them first with Philo, secondly with ourselves. (1.) They occasionally allegorise numbers; he, it may be said, never misses the opportunity: they in a few instances supersede the historical meaning; he can scarcely be said to allow the historical meaning to stand at all. The difference, though one of degree, is yet so great as to be also a difference in kind. That the Fathers were great critics will not be maintained; but they were almost as far as any modern historian from the dreamy, inconsecutive apprehension of historical facts which we find in Philo, who is as entirely devoid of the historical sense as an Indian philosopher. In another point of view, Philo may be regarded as a witness in their favour, inasmuch as his writings show the extraordinary power which in that age the allegorical system exercised in the world. It seems as if mankind, after being raised above things of sense by the progress of the human mind, relapsed again into the world of sense; and, instead of gathering the true lesson from them, sought to find in individual objects the conductors to an invisible world. From this influence, the Fathers, in a great degree, freed themselves; in the interpretation of Scripture they are not only on a level with their age, but above their age. They must be measured not by their credulity or deficiency in knowledge, — this could

hardly in their circumstances have been otherwise, — but by the moral purity of their writings and the intensity of their efforts, amid some extravagancies, to sanctify and ennoble human nature.

(2.) It will make us more lenient, both towards Philo and the Fathers, to remember, that the method which they employ has not ceased to be practised by ourselves. It cannot be said that we have left off interpreting Scripture, by what we have brought to the text, not by what we have found there; or that we have not assumed double senses, types, allegories, either to avoid difficulties, or to adapt the Old Testament to the New, and, in general, the meaning of Scripture to the opinions of our own time; or that in portions of Scripture, such as the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, we have not run into excesses about numbers, colours, and animals, as great as those of Philo in the book of Genesis; or that we have not argued from separate verses of Scripture detached from their connexion; or that we have not invented a system where there was no system, and asked for reasons where there were no reasons; or that we have not perverted analogies in the application of Scripture; or that we have not blended Aristotelian logic or Platonic fancies with the words of our Lord or St. Paul; or that we have not transfigured the characters of Scripture until they have become ideas rather than living persons; or that we have not sought to connect heathen mythology or philosophy, stories of Deucalion, Iphigenia, Bacchus, Orpheus, with the narrative or doctrines of Scripture; or that we have not at times unduly confined human knowledge within the circle of Scriptural truth; or that we have not misused classical learning in illustration of Scripture, introducing allusions and refinements of language where they had no place; or that we have not substituted rhetorical praises of Scripture for a true apprehension of its meaning; or that we have not done violence to Scripture where plain words seemed to be at variance with the practice of our own day; or that we have not sermonised over the text instead of explaining it; or that we have not put traditional interpretations in the place of real ones, repeating probabilities until they grew into certainties;

or that we have not erected the volume of the book itself into a sort of divinity, asserting our evervarying apprehension of its meaning to be the Unchangeable image ; lastly, that we have not degraded science or history into mere instruments for eliciting out of Scripture our own belief, when we ought to have recognised their true dignity and independent authority in the sight of God and man.

Instead of analysing in detail any further portions of Philo's works, it will be more convenient to group our extracts around those subjects, or leading ideas, which Philo and the New Testament have in common. We must guard the reader against supposing that Philo and St. Paul or St. John are more like than is really the case, owing to the accident of all the resemblances being collected together in a short space. Surprising as these coincidences are, they are, in the writings of Philo, scattered through many volumes amidst endless platitudes. Nor can we be sure that he himself would have recognised or acknowledged the connected system which has been collected from his works. Writers like Philo always waver in their statements. There is no whole or framework which contains the parts of their philosophy, no scientific unity of idea which commands and subordinates the details. The tendency to mysticism and the habit of rhetorical exaggeration render consistency impossible.

§ 1.

The centre of our interest in the Alexandrian philosophy, is the doctrine of the *Λόγος* (Word). This, however, immediately flows from the prior doctrine of the nature and being of God ; to understand the former, we must begin, therefore, with the latter.

In different parts of the Old Testament there are great differences in the manner of God's revelation of Himself. In the earlier portions He is described as walking in the garden in the cool of the day, as talking to Abraham, as wrestling with Jacob, as appearing to Moses in the burning bush, or to Moses and the elders on Mount Sinai ; but we should be far from expecting similar appearances in the days

of David or of Hezekiah. More and more, in the course of Jewish history, God had been to the Israelites a "God hiding Himself," as of old, in the pillar of the cloud, or in the recesses of the most holy place, so in later times seen or spoken with only by His prophets, through whom the divine will was communicated to His people. A religious feeling attached itself to the temple, breaking out in acts of rude violence at the very suspicion of its profanation; and yet this was not inconsistent with the conviction which had more and more wrought itself into the mind of the people, that "God dwelt not in temples made with hands. Behold, even the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him."* In whatever manner it was to be reconciled with the earlier history of the Jewish people, the truth "that no man had seen God at any time" was not first taught by the Gospel.

There was another circumstance which indirectly tended to remove God further from the view of the Israelites. The glory of Israel had departed,—the Lord Jehovah no longer went forth with their armies. He was known of them in wrath rather than in mercy. Was He then the author of the evils of their race? The Platonist of Alexandria would not think this. God was not the author of evil, for He was good. How then did evil arise? It seemed to remove evil from Him to suppose that it was executed by His inferior ministers. "He sent evil angels among them." Thus was God, whose presence in the world had once been its life and light, more and more removed from it, that He might be free even from the shadow of a suspicion of evil.

It was the Greek philosophy, even more than the altered national belief, or the change in the circumstances of the people, that contributed to give Philo his peculiar view of the Divine nature. While he retains the Hebrew titles of King of kings and Lord of lords, he

* Compare Philo: "Let no such impiety enter our minds (as that God literally planted Paradise), . . . for even the whole world would not be a worthy place or habitation for Him, since He is a place to Himself, and He Himself is sufficient for Himself, filling up and surrounding everything else," etc. — *Leg. Alleg.* i. 14.

adds others which remind us of Aristotle and Plato. God is the $\tau\acute{o}$ $\delta\acute{o}\nu$, $\nu\omicron\eta\tau\eta\ \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$; the *summum genus* ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$), the efficient cause, the unit, better than wisdom itself, or good itself. Many of his figures of speech are borrowed from Plato. God, he says, is the driver of the chariot, the pilot of the ship, the shepherd of the flock; over souls, and bodies, and thoughts, and words, and angels, and earth, and air, and heaven, and things seen, and powers unseen, the Ruler of all things, the Father of the world. He is omnipotent and omniscient, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$.

But the leading idea which, more than any other, seems to have taken possession of the mind of Philo and his contemporaries is, that the Divine Being is incomprehensible and invisible. There is nothing which he repeats so often as this; nothing for the sake of which he is so ready to pervert the meaning of Scripture. As the Eleatic philosopher of being, so of God, Philo will admit of no predicates; for which reason he say that $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ (I am the Lord thy God) is an incorrect expression. (i. 582.) To the prophets and Moses he supposed the true nature of God to be equally unintelligible as to himself. In the same way that the Platonist doctrine of the *ιδέαι* involves a chasm between $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ and $\delta\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha$ ($\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$), so did the Neoplatonist conception of the Divinity which was the embodiment of those *ιδέαι* absolutely withdraw and separate Him from the world. Or as Philo said in Aristotelian phrase, $\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\acute{o}\nu\ \eta\ \delta\acute{o}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\iota$. (i. 582.)

Such doctrines, whether in religion or philosophy, cannot be consistently carried out. If we have no knowledge of things in themselves, what proof have we that they exist? if we have no knowledge of the Divine nature, it is useless to tell us that there is a God. Hence, in all ages, philosophy, and yet more religion, have availed themselves of the inconsistency in the human mind which allows men to believe truths not wholly reconcilable with each other. The mystic has no difficulty in dwelling on an object of faith, which is no object; the intensity of religious feeling converting a merely

negative notion into a positive one. Others have introduced the fiction of a lower and a higher consciousness, the former limited by the human faculties, the latter independent of them. It is, of course, impossible to get rid of the real difficulty by any verbal distinction. Philo has his own method of smoothing the discrepancy, which is as follows:—In His true nature God is incomprehensible, and yet there is a certain sense also in which He is cognisable by contemplation and by the observation of His works. (i. 107.) The latter is the lower way, which extracts a knowledge of God from the sight of trees and flowers, sun and stars; the other, which is the more excellent, is the way of intellectual communion or Divine imagination, as it may be termed (*Θεὸν θεῶ φαντασιῶσαι*), imparted by God Himself, who, when we contemplate Him, is contemplating Himself in us. (ii. 415.) This higher knowledge of God is the knowledge of a pure unity, as of a form without shadow, such as the sun sheds upon the earth at midday. Thus, even in this sort of knowledge, little is known of the Divine Being but that He exists.

The same difficulty met Philo and the Alexandrians from what may be termed the objective side, in representing the relation of God to the world. If God is unconnected with the world, how does He act upon it? To answer this difficulty, Philo introduces the fiction of *δυνάμεις*. These may be described in the words of the poet as the

“Thrones, dominations, principdoms, virtues, powers,”

whereby, as in some Asiatic court, the King of kings is surrounded, his *ὀπαδοὶ*, *δορύφοροι*, *ὑπηρέται*, *πρόπομποι*. They are efficient causes, the bands of the world; sometimes appearing as persons, as in the visit of the angels to Abraham; also the ideas and *summa genera* of things, as well as the powers by which they are created. The highest of them are called *δυνάμεις χαριστικαί* and *κολαστικαί*; or, in another passage, *ποιητικαί* and *βασίλικάι* (De vit. Mosis, iii. 8.); others are the *δύναμις προνοητικῇ*, *νομοθετικῇ*, *ἡλεως*. (i. 431. 560., ii. 150.)

These *δυνάμεις* occupy the same place in Philo's system, as the

doctrine of emanations in the Oriental philosophy. They are interposed between God and the world, and yet designed also to connect Him with it. We ourselves, so far as we attribute any substance or reality to God's general laws apart from Himself, have recourse to a similar figure. These *δυνάμεις* may be said to wear a double face; one looking toward the Greek philosophy, and the other to the Old Testament Scriptures. In the first aspect they are but a new name for the Platonic *ἰδέαι* (ii. 261.), while they themselves serve as intermediate links, now that the chasm to be bridged is thrown further back and placed not between the *ἰδέαι* and phenomena, but between God and the world. In another point of view they are the *ἄγγελοι* of the Old Testament; the beings who appeared to Abraham and Lot, themselves persons, and yet modes of Divine existence. Philo says of them, that to spirits they are spirits, but angels or men to men. (i. 655.) They might be described in the language of the Old Testament as the angels of the Divine presence. They abide in the Word. (i. 4.)

When God has been removed from the sphere of human intelligence, it may seem absurd to dwell on his moral nature. Yet Philo, forgetful of his transcendentalism, returns in praise and thanksgiving to the natural instincts of the heart. "His goodness and gentle power is the harmony of all things." (ii. 155.) To whom," he says, "shall we give thanks but to God, and by what means but through the things that we have received?" "In making rain to fall upon the earth, what does He, but make manifest the riches of His goodness?" It is on this side of the Divine nature that Philo delights to dwell. "Good," he says, "comes directly from Him, and evil only indirectly." "Not only does He judge first and show mercy afterwards, but He shows mercy first, and judges afterwards: for with Him mercy is older than justice." "The fulness of His power He never exerts towards any creature." So again with an antithesis of the prepositions which reminds us of some passages in St. Paul's writings as well as of Aristotle, he says, there are two ways in which God works. Some things are only *ὑπ'*

αὐτοῦ (by Him); others are *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, and *δι' αὐτοῦ* (by Him and through Him) as well. (i. 51.) Of the former sort is evil, of the latter good; an idea nearly answering to the modern expression, God is the Author of good, but the Permitter of evil.

Three texts of Scripture sum up Philo's view of the nature of the Divine Being. First, "No man hath seen God at any time;" the thought of his age and nation seeking to harmonise the reverence for the Lord Jehovah with the Greek philosophy, which, however, Philo carries out consistently to the consequence that no man hath seen or known, or can conceive or tell anything of God; and then falls into the inconsistency of making Him the subject of human feelings and emotions. Secondly, "The pure in heart see God;" not, however, in the sense of our Saviour in the Sermon on the Mount; for the purity spoken of is an ascetic or mystic rather than a human purity, such as was possessed by contemplative sects like the Essenes and Therapeutæ. Thirdly, "God cannot be tempted of evil, neither tempteth He any man." To execute evil, therefore, He employs inferior ministers, such as the angels, just as to make Himself known to man at all He employs the agency of the *λόγος*.*

§ 2.

The *λόγος* has been already spoken of as the centre of the Alexandrian theology. The necessity which led to its introduction may be gathered from the previous section. Man had removed God so far from the world, that there seemed to be no God, — nothing to which the human heart could turn, or on which human thought could dwell. The interval was filled up, the system of the world harmonised, the human soul and understanding united with God by the *λόγος*.

Aristotle raises a question which he does not profess to answer: "Which of the Platonic ideas connected the rest of the ideas with

* I have to acknowledge that some of the materials of this and the following sections are borrowed from Gfrörer.

sensible things?" There was a parallel question in the Alexandrian theology, which, although it had far outgrown this, and become, to use a modern expression, the great question of that day, may yet be traced up to a similar dialectical difficulty: "What has man to do with God, or God with the world?" To this question the λόγος supplied the answer.

It is true, though wearisome to repeat, yet a thought that should be vividly present to us at every step of this inquiry, that the age of which we are speaking was an age of ideas; an age not balanced by experience, or steadied by practical life; an age as completely overpowered and mastered by abstractions as earlier centuries had been by nature or by mythology. The form had changed; but the one was as much a fiction as the other. The Alexandrian age differs from the mythical, not in its critical spirit, which was the spirit of verbal criticism only, but in its higher conception of morality, its nearer approach to the true idea of God and revelation, and its renunciation of the sensible world. It was mythical and not mythical, poetical and rhetorical at once. Its imagery may be compared to a cast of some soft material, capable of being worked into any form by the hand. It may be described as a colourless mythology.

Ages which are under the power of ideas are also under the power of words. Like the names of the gods in mythology, words played a great part in the Alexandrian system. The Greek philosophy supplied the conception of a Divine νοῦς; but what was more important, the Greek language supplied the word λόγος with its happy ambiguity of reason and speech, "outward and inward word," itself a mediator between two worlds. How natural an expression was this of the relation between the outward and visible and the inward and spiritual, to men who had not either the consciousness of fixed laws of nature or the strong sense of human individuality like ourselves! The Alexandrian recognised as readily as a modern German philosopher, that thought and language are two aspects of the same thing.

The extreme readiness with which ideas, such as λόγος, σοφία, πνεῦμα, were transmuted into persons, is of itself characteristic of a mythological age. The Greek in Homer's time personified fire, water, and the other elements; and in a doubtful and wavering manner, which may be termed half-personification, sought to embody also abstract ideas, such as strife, fear, and love. The Greek under the Ptolemies personified ροῦς, λόγος, πνεῦμα. In this latter process there were many stages and transitions. It was a sort of inversion of the mythological one, passing not from realities to figures of speech, but from figures of speech to realities. Gradually the abstract term began to stand out, helped by the fortunate accident of a word, and, in the case of the λόγος, by its identification with the vision of God in the Pentateuch.

The earliest form of the λόγος (word) is the ἄγγελος or εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, such as was immediately suggested by the language of the Old Testament. For the word ἄγγελος itself Philo finds a verbal connexion; we may suppose, he says, that the ἄγγελος is so called ὅτι τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι διηγγέλλετο. (De vit. Mos. i. 13.) Another germ of the same thought is the conception of wisdom in the book of Proverbs, which in Ecclesiasticus is just ceasing to be a figure of speech, and becoming a reality; it was retained in the later Alexandrianism as a sort of feminine λόγος (see *infra*). Both these expressions had come into use in Palestine itself, and were known in the schools of the Rabbies. But the original notion in either of its forms, whether the more concrete and allied to sense, or more abstract and ideal, was soon overlaid by the notions of Greek philosophy, which quickly resolved them into each other. Thus the ἄγγελος became a λόγος, and the λόγοι in turn became ἄγγελοι. The associations of either were endless; many were supplied by the word itself, still more by Plato and Aristotle; while every passage in the Old Testament in which mention occurred of any type or figure which could by any possibility be connected with it was transferred to the λόγος.

First came the great distinction of Philo between λόγος ἐν ᾧ ἔθετος

and λόγος προφορικός (ii. 154.), which is a metaphor taken from the relation between human thought and language. As the thought of a man is to the speech of a man, so is the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος to the λόγος προφορικός. This, however, is not the only play of words which Philo bases on the different significations of the word λόγος. Thus λόγος is used for νόμος; the Word of God is also the Law of God; ποιεῖ ὁ ἀσθεῖος τὸν νόμον, ποιεῖ καὶ τὸν λόγον. (i. 456.) Another meaning of λόγος assists that philosophy of number which Philo loves; in the sense of ratio of numbers the λόγος bears an important part in the κόσμος. As the Eleatic philosopher, wherever the words ὄν, ἐστίν, εἶναι occurred, seemed to see a confirmation of his favourite theory; so the Alexandrian, whatever might be the sense in which the word λόγος was employed, eagerly adapted it to his purpose, and found the evidence of the universality of the idea in the ever-recurring use of the word. Or, to look nearer home for an illustration, as commentators on the Old Testament, wherever they met with the word spirit, have identified it with the third person of the Trinity; or as the early Fathers, in the accidental mention of bread and wine in the Prophets, saw a type and figure of the Eucharist.

The associations derived from Plato and the Greek philosophy so often blend with those of the Old Testament, as to make it difficult to separate them. In a few only the genuine language of Plato is retained. Thus, the λόγος is ἰδέα ἰδεῶν, εἶδος εἰδῶν, the habitation of the ἰδέαι, in which they seem to reside. So, again, according to that explanation of the ἰδέαι which made them γένη, the λόγος is said to be γενικώτατον, the *summum genus* which comprehended all things in itself. In like manner the λόγος is also termed τομέυς, that is, the divider of the genus into its species. (i. 504.) Here, however, a secondary thought enters in, which gives a curious insight into the network by which the Old Testament and Plato are woven together; the λόγος is not only the divider of the genus into its species, but of the sacrifice into its parts. (i. 491.) In the New Testament similar language occurs, though in a different sense; “the word of God is

quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (*τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν*). (Heb. iv. 12.)

As Plato divided the world into *νοητά* and *αἰσθητά*, Philo makes a corresponding division of the *λόγος*. It is not quite clear whether he designed this to be the same with the one above mentioned of the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*. Where language is the soul of philosophy, we can scarcely suppose a variation of the word without a change of the idea; if indeed it be not the truer view that the word is the idea. In modern phraseology the first of the two pairs of opposites seems to express the more subjective, the other the more objective, aspect of the distinction; the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός* standing in the same relation to each other as human speech and human thought, the soul and body of thought; while the twofold *λόγος*, which answers to *νοητά* and *αἰσθητά*, is but an adaptation of the Platonic distinction. (ii. 154.)

A curious blending of Greek philosophy and of Jewish and Christian notions occurs in the account of the *λόγος μεσίτης*. All things, says Philo, are in pairs, right and left, good and evil, Israel and the Egyptian hosts; and between these two the *λόγος* stands as a mean, neither begotten as man, nor unbegotten as God; standing by God as a pledge that the whole race will not utterly rebel, and by man that he may have a good hope that God will not overlook the work of His hands. Have we not here the Pythagorean *συστοίχεια*, the Aristotelian doctrine of a mean, and the Mediator of the New Testament, jumbled together in one? (i. 509.)

Another transition is formed from the Alexandrian to the Jewish aspect of the *λόγος* by the idea of *νόμος*; also an ambiguous term, at which the fancy caught, which was common to the Greek and Jewish world. As the *λόγος* is the first emanation and energy of the Divine Being, whereby the world was created, so also is it the law or bond of the world, *ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγων*. (i. 562.) In all the workings of God in nature the *λόγος* is the intermediate link. Neither is it only the law of the physical, but of the political world, and orders the changes of states.

In the spirit of Sulpicius' letter to Cicero, Philo says, "Look at Pontus, Macedonia, Carthage; their vicissitudes are not chance, but Providence. The Divine Word brings round its operations in a circle which the vulgar call fortune; it is ever running about the world to establish the perfect form of government — universal democracy." (*De Immut. Dei*, c. 36.) *Νόμος*, equally with *λόγος*, had become a power, almost a person; a conception of both, which naturally led to their identification with each other. Thus Philo says, in a passage which at once reminds us of Plato and of St. Paul: "Every bad man is a slave," *ὅσοι μετὰ νόμου ζῶσιν ἐλεύθεροι. Νόμος δὲ ἀψευδὴς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνους ἢ τοῦ δεῖνους θνητοῦ φθαρτὸς ἐν χαρτιδίῳ ἢ στήλαις ἄψυχος ἀψύχοις, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διαοία τυπωθείς.* (ii. 452.) Do we not trace here the beginning of that wider and more expansive notion of the law which we find in the Epistles; a law above a law, not written on tables of stone, such as those had who, "not having the law, were a law unto themselves?"

A still more remarkable parallel with St. Paul is found in Philo's explanation of the law of Leviticus, xvi. 36., according to which the house was not pronounced unclean until seen by the high priest. Philo, after his usual manner of setting aside the text where its meaning seems inappropriate, says that the literal interpretation of this cannot be accepted: for the priest's coming to the house would make it clean and not unclean. Here, therefore, as elsewhere, the priest is the *λόγος*, and the meaning is, that before the *λόγος* enters into the soul it is innocent in all things: *ὥς ὁ θεῖος λόγος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν καθάπερ τινὰ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀφικται πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα ἀνυπαίτια.* (i. 292—299.)

We have here a dimmer expression of St. Paul's often repeated thought, "Sin is not imputed where there is no law;" "I was alive without the law once;" "the law entered in that sin might abound." But the parallel is also carried further. For as in many passages of Scripture we have the law spoken of with scarcely any reference to the Mosaic law for the workings of the human soul under the sense of

sin, or, as we should say, for the conscience, Philo has also his λόγος ἔλεγχος, — ὁ ἐκάστην ψυχὴ συνοικῶν καὶ συμπεφυκώς ἔλεγχος, κατήγορος ὁμοῦ καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν. (ii. 195.) When convicted by our own conscience, he says we should pray God to save us by chastisement, and send his λόγος ἔλεγχος into our minds. So the angel who appears to Balaam is the type of the ἔλεγχος attacking the soul disposed to sin. This ἔλεγχος is likewise the παράκλητος, the intercessor and instructor also. (ii. 247.)

The parallels with the New Testament are not yet exhausted. For example, the λόγος is the living stream (i. 560.), the river of God in Paradise, the bread that came down from heaven (Leg. All. ii. 59.)*, the garden of Eden itself, the sword that turned every way. It is, however, in the personifications of the λόγος that the most striking parallelisms are found; the word seeming to draw to itself all the passages in which manifestations of angels, or of the Divine presence occur in the Old Testament.

Our own idea of personality does not admit of degrees. To us it is not natural to think of either man or angel as more or less a person. Nor, again, is it easy to imagine, except in poetry, an outward form of personality, such as is assigned to the Homeric heroes in the world below. Neither is it possible to us to conceive two persons in one. Such distinct ideas of personality did not, however, exist for the age of which we are speaking. In the same manner that any one deity in the heathen pantheon might have many statues and images, without thereby implying the notion that these statues were mere representations of him, — in the same way that by some anomaly of the human mind saints are worshipped in many places at once with hardly a thought of attributing omnipresence or pluripresence to them; so to the Alexandrian in Philo's

* The soul is taught by the prophet Moses, who tells it: "This is the bread, the food which God has given for the soul, explaining that God has brought it, his own word and reason; for this bread which he has given us to eat is this word of His." (Leg. Alleg. ii. 60.) Again, c. 61.: "Let God enjoin the soul, saying to it, that 'man shall not live by bread alone,' speaking in a figure, 'but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'"

time the *λόγος* might be many persons, and exist in many persons, and have many shadows and images of himself without thereby losing his original personality. On this view only can Philo be made intelligible. When we raise the question whether the *λόγος* was a person, it must be allowed that the word "person" has a definiteness and unity which belong not to that age, but to a subsequent one, and is therefore used in a somewhat different sense from that in which we ordinarily employ it. And we may further distinguish what may be termed this growing idea of personality from the personal appearances of angels or the Divine Being in the Old Testament, which are also attributed to the *λόγος*. On the other hand, it must be admitted that when Philo speaks of the *λόγος* as ἀρχάγγελος (Quis rer. div. hæc. § 42.), or δεύτερος Θεός (Frag. ii. 625.), he had at least an indistinct conception of a person. The word *λόγος* itself, both in its superficial meaning of human speech, and in its deeper intention of "the Word by which the worlds were made," naturally suggested the idea of personality.

A critical question more difficult of solution is the origin of the personification. An earlier form of the *λόγος*, as has been already mentioned, is the *σοφία* of the book of Ecclesiasticus. Wisdom and the Word of God are there described as real powers, almost as persons. It has been doubted, however, whether we are to look here for the personality of the *λόγος*. Gfrörer is of opinion that the personal notion is originally Jewish, and that the Platonism was an after addition. In the absence of much positive evidence, the following seems to me the most probable conjecture on this subject.

It can scarcely be doubted that to the Jew everywhere, whether at Alexandria or in Palestine, the aspect of the religion of his fathers had much changed. To neither could the law in its original meaning have been wholly intelligible. To both probably, whether under the influence of Egypt or of Chaldea, the visible appearance of God in the altered state of the world seemed strange and discordant. That this was the case appears to be proved by the observation of Gfrörer, that passages in which such appearances occur in the LXX.

have been altered by the translator. The dread of mentioning the name of God was a native superstition, older than the Christian era. Both therefore, the Jew of Alexandria and of Palestine alike, might be said to be prepared for the doctrine of the λόγος, that is, to feel the need of an intermediate being, who might take the place of the God who had guided his people Israel. The Alexandrian, coming more under the influence of the Greek philosophy, sought and found it in the Platonic *νοῦς*; while the Jewish Rabbi, confining himself to the Hebrew Scriptures, exalted the angels into the place of mediators, and found in the law the answer to his own difficulty. The λόγος itself implied the idea of personality, so far as this can be separated from individual form and character, while on the other hand it derived a kind of outward figure or embodiment from the angels, or the patriarchs, or the high priest. From these latter it gained a new personality, while it was itself the pantheistic link by which they were connected together, εἷς ἐν πᾶσι. And although from the few facts bearing upon the question we are obliged to argue “*à priori*,” there is no reason, notwithstanding the absence of positive evidence, to doubt that the personality was partly supplied by both; so far as it is involved in the idea of mind, mainly by Greek philosophy; so far as it seems to connect the idea of an outward form or embodiment, by the Old Testament itself. The λόγος may * have been identified with the angel of his presence, or the angel of his presence identified with the λόγος; the conception of Philo includes both.

There is scarcely an angelic or divine appearance in the law which Philo does not attribute to the λόγος. He is the instrument by which the worlds were made, “the word of the Cause” by which also Moses, the perfect soul, is raised to God himself*; he is the guide of the Patriarchs, the angel who appeared to Hagar, the avenging angel who destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, the God who appeared to Jacob in Gen. xxviii. 11. 19., the Divine form who changed the

* “The shadow of God is his word, which he used like an instrument when he was making the world.”— *Leg. Alleg.* ii. 31, compare also *De Sacrific. Cain.* iii. 3.

name of Jacob to Israel, the angel of the Lord in the burning bush, the cloud at the Red Sea, the angel who appeared to Balaam, the guide of the Israelites in the wilderness. Individuals are also types of him. Melchizedek is "the reason" to which we offer the first fruits; Aaron and Moses are also symbols of Him; Bezaleel is a *τρόπος ψυχῆς*, who makes the shadows of things even as Moses makes the realities; the sons of Jacob are one man's sons, *ἓνα πάτερα ἐπιγεγραμμένοι*, that is, the *ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ*, the *λόγος*. Both these last passages may be illustrated by another passage in Philo's account of the creation, in which he says that God made the image first, — a seal, an idea, a genus, immortal, without sex; afterwards he made the species Adam (*διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήινος*).

The Platonic image of the copy and the reality is constantly recurring in Philo; that of the *ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ* is more important for the purpose of our present inquiry. (i. 411.) In some sense the *λόγος* is man as well as God, — he is God and also man. He is the Son of God, who is the Father of all; the eldest born of being (*πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος*), who puts on the world as it were a garment (ii. 562.); the second God (ii. 625.); the image of God (i. 6. 454.), by whom men swear in their imperfect state*, for he is the God of us imperfect beings (i. 128. 656.); above the angels (i. 561.); the incorporeal light that is with God himself (i. 414.); who is eternal (i. 330. 332.); and nearest to God without any interval or separation (i. 561.); the shepherd who has the care of the flock (i. 308.); the angel who is, as it were, the physician who heals evil (i. 122.). What may be termed the humanity of the *λόγος* is not the humanity of one who was in all points tempted as we are; it arises out of his being the image of God, in which man also is made. Philo sometimes identifies, sometimes distinguishes, divine and human reason. There are two temples, he says: the first the world, of which

* The reason Philo gives for this is remarkable. "For no man swears by himself, for he is unable to determine about his own nature." And it is impiety to swear by God. (cf. Matth. v. 33-37.)

the λόγος is the high priest; the second, the rational soul, of which the high priest is the true man. (i. 653.) Being neither begotten as man, nor unbegotten as God, he is able to mediate between God and man. Words which imply human virtue are also applied to him, such as would not be applied to God himself. He is the *ικέτης* in Moses, who intercedes for the people (i. 653.); the *παράκλητος*, who is with the high priest when he goes in to intercede for the people (ii. 591.); the *ἱερὸς λόγος*, who, in Num. xvi. 48., stands between the living and the dead (i. 501.); the cloud that divided the Egyptians and Israelites; above all, the *ἀρχιερεύς* (i. 270. 562.), who mediates between God and man; who is not to be defiled by touching the corpse of his father i. e. the Spirit, or his mother i. e. the sense; who is married to a virgin, even the pure sense, and wears for his priestly garment the world and the elements.

Two accessory ideas remain to be considered, *σοφία* and *πνεῦμα*. The first is in most respects identical with λόγος. Like the λόγος, it is the creative power and inner principle of the soul, and has the same predicates attributed to it. A difference in its use arises from its feminine termination, which renders its employment more appropriate where a feminine, such as *πήγη*, *μήτηρ*, *θυγάτηρ*, is the symbol under which it is expressed. Further, the second meaning of λόγος conveys a conception of energy or action, which is wanting in *σοφία*; the word λόγος is at once a simpler, as well as more philosophical expression of Divine energy. Hence *σοφία* which also occurs less frequently, is not so completely personified as λόγος; always retaining in some degree the nature of an abstract term, for which reason it is in some passages opposed to λόγος, as inward to outward. One place in which Philo uses it for the rock in the wilderness, which is also the manna, affords a remarkable parallel to St. Paul: *ἡ ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἢ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἣν ἄκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἔτεμεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεων.* (i. 82. 213.)

The other modification of the λόγος is the *πνεῦμα*, on the double meaning of which latter Philo himself remarks. Altogether it has four principal uses: (1.) The wind; (2.) The breath of the soul; (3.)

The wisdom that is from above; (4.) Prophetic power. It is a synonym of *λόγος*, except so far as the word itself suggests different associations. Thus it is used more naturally wherever the communion of men with one another, or with God, or the inspiration of man, is spoken of. So Philo says that the Spirit cannot endure among divisions; and those who are under its influence are borne upward as by wind, and hence are said to be *ἀνακαλούμενοι*.

The parallelisms between Philo and the New Testament, which have already presented themselves, may be summed up as follows:—

1. The invisibility of God.—John i. 18.
2. The ministration of angels in giving the law.—Gal. iii. 19.
Heb. ii. 2.
3. The “Word,” as the instrument of creation.
 - as prefigured by the manna.
 - as the living stream.
 - as a sword (*τομεύς*).
 - as the image of God.
 - as the high priest.
 - as the cloud at the Red Sea.
 - (under the name *σοφία*) as the rock in the wilderness.
 - as the first-begotten son of God.
 - as begotten before the world, which is God’s second Son (compare *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*).
 - as the man of God.
 - as a second God.
 - as the Paraclete and Intercessor.
 - as the Mediator.
 - as Melchizedek.
 - like the *ρόμος* in St. Paul’s Epistles, under the title of *ἐλεγχος*, the convincer of sin.
 - as the heavenly man, who is opposed to the earthly.

These parallelisms between Philo and the New Testament have different degrees of resemblance. Thus, for example, the λόγος as μεσίτης is mixed up, as we have seen, with Pythagorean follies; that of the οὐράνιος and γήινος ἄνθρωπος is not exactly the same with St. Paul's first and second Adam. But whatever may be the difference in their meaning, the fact that such expressions exist alike in two writings separated from each other by an interval of twenty or thirty years cannot be attributed to accident; while, on the other hand, neither of the two presents the slightest trace of having borrowed from the other. The only supposition that remains is, that they belonged to the mode of thinking of the age, whatever inflections or adaptations of meaning they may have received.

§ 3.

A question which is in some degree connected with Philo's conception of the λόγος remains to be considered; viz. how far he partook of those Messianic hopes which occupied the minds of the Jews of Palestine in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles? The answer is, that very little trace of them can be found in his writings. He has no desire to return to Jerusalem and build up the house of David. Like the Jews in later ages he acquiesces in the dispersion of his countrymen among the Gentiles. The kingdom for which he looks is a heavenly, or rather an ideal, one. He knows nothing of the prophecies in the sense in which they are interpreted in the New Testament. It is a philosophical more than a national pride which he takes in the Jewish institutions. He belongs not to the school of those who called no man master on earth, "whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices;" for even amid persecutions he is a loyal subject of "the powers that be." There are places in which philosophy makes him a sort of Cosmopolite. The book of the law, not the Jewish nation, forms the circle within which his hopes and aspirations are contained.

One passage forms an exception to this statement (De Exsecrat.

ii. 435.), in which Philo, enlarging on the book of Deuteronomy chap. xxviii., describes the restoration of the Jews to liberty at a given signal, "their sudden and universal change to virtue causing a panic among their masters; for they will let them go, because they are ashamed to rule over those who are better than themselves. . . . When they have received this liberty, those who a short time before were scattered about in Greece and other countries, rising up with one impulse, and coming some from one quarter, some from another, hasten to a place which is pointed out to them, being guided on their way by some vision, more Divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of man, which is manifest to those who are saved, but invisible to every one else." Philo goes on to mention the three intercessors or "comforters" of the Jewish nation in their reconciliation with God; 1. the goodness of God; 2. the holiness of the departed Patriarchs, who pray for their descendants; 3. the improvement of the nation itself.

It has been doubted whether in this passage the Divine vision is the same with the λόγος. The λόγος had just been mentioned in the previous sentence. "If," it is said, "they receive their chastisement in a humble and contrite spirit, . . . they will meet with acceptance from their merciful Saviour, God, who bestows on the race of mankind his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own Word, after which as its archetype the human mind was formed." It is hardly consistent with the laws of language to suppose that what in one paragraph Philo has called "the word," he speaks of in the next as "the vision." It is more natural to see in the latter a manifestation of the word only. The tendency which Philo shows to connect the λόγος with the apparitions of the Divine presence, such as that of the angels to the Patriarchs, and with several Messianic passages (i. 414.), makes it probable that he intended such a reference here. At any rate, he would not have excluded the λόγος from the authorship of any good. His system is too Pantheistic to allow of his distinguishing the Messiah, or the apparitions which heralded his advent, from the Word.

§ 4.

Philo's conception of the creation is different from that which we gather from the Old Testament. The world, he says, is not without beginning; but his idea of *γένεσις* is the working of God upon matter which pre-existed. Creation is with him rather the ordering and arrangement of the world than the actual bringing of it into being. Yet he, too, uses the same expression as St. Paul (*τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι καλεῖν*, ii. 367.), "to call the things that are not into being," though in a different sense. There was no subject in which Greek and Oriental modes of thought so naturally, almost necessarily, came into conflict with Jewish; Philo sought to remove the incongruity by Pythagorean triads of numbers, which, however strange it may seem, were more agreeable and intelligible to that age than the simplicity of the Mosaic narrative.

The world he conceives of as perfect, the work of God, having an order, harmony, and sympathy of parts, being a plurality in unity, full of pairs; wherein all things have need of one another, and love one another. It is the temple of God, not built for the sake of man, but man a part of it; the great city of which all men are citizens. To deny this excellence of creation, or to assert that it can ever be dissolved or regenerated, were impiety. (ii. 508.) So far is Philo from St. Paul's view, that "the whole creation is groaning and travailling together until now." Creation he regards as a *γένεσις* towards an end which is necessarily good. The vastness of the thought in the Old Testament is overlaid by his Greek education, and reduced to Aristotelian rule and precision. It is moreover idealised. In many passages of Philo we almost trace the thought of a philosopher of our own day*: "The world is a petrified intelligence."

The heavens he sometimes conceives as one with the earth; at other times as distinct from it. The air is a sort of heaven; it is the

* Schelling.

habitation of incorporeal souls. The stars are pure souls incapable of evil, heavenly powers which guide and foretell human events on earth. Everywhere between earth and highest heaven, which is beyond the moon, there are ethereal beings; some standing around the throne of God, others coming down to earth to do his bidding; some unseen, others from love to mankind taking human bodies. They are described as *λόγοι*, as the mediators between God and man, as angels, as human beings exalted from earth to heaven, as ministering spirits who give to drink of the water of life. Those of them who are spoken of as the sons of God in Genesis, he considers to have been men who became angels, and returned to their human condition.

He holds the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, though in a different way. (ii. 604.) The wise man—Abraham, Jacob, Moses—confesses that while on earth he is a stranger in the Egypt of sense. In its origin, the human soul is an *ἀπόσπασμα* or *ἀπαύγασμα* *Θεῖον*, or, to speak more religiously, *ὑπερ ὀσιώτερον εἰπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ Μωϋσῆν φιλοσοφοῦσιν εἰκότος Θείας ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμφερές*. (i. 208.) Sometimes the ether is represented as the source of the soul (i. 119.); in other passages *λόγοι*, or ideas bearing the image of God and the stamp of the Divine Spirit. This participation in the Divine Spirit makes man free, and therefore capable of virtue, without which freedom is impossible.*

It is not a matter of surprise that Philo's psychology, like the other parts of his philosophy, should be inconsistent with itself, or that he should make an ineffectual attempt to unite two psychological systems. The soul, he says, becomes a *δύας* by the addition of the body, and returns to God as a *μονάς* (i. 179.). It is also called *τριμερής*, and made to consist of three parts, *ἐπιθυμία*, *θυμὸς*,

* Quod potiori deter. ins., c. 24.: "Nothing which belongs to the Divinity can be cut off from it so as to be separated from it; but it is only extended. On which account the being which has had imparted to it a share of the perfection which is in the universe, when it arrives at a proper comprehension of the world, is extended in width simultaneously with the boundaries of the universe."

νοῦς (i. 57.) ; or, according to another division, of αἰσθησις, λόγος, νοῦς. In the passage last referred to it may be observed that λόγος stands for speech, which is the house of the mind, as the λόγος is the house of God. (ii. 243. 350.) A Pythagorean fancy further leads him, while maintaining the unity of the rational soul, to divide the irrational into seven parts, answering to the seven senses — sight, taste, touch, hearing, smelling, generation, and speech. The perfect number seven, as he delights to remark, according to which the world was created, comes down to us. (i. 28. 45. 223.)

But besides these Greek modes of thought, there is also another point of view, which is Jewish, in which Philo regards the soul as opposed to the body. The body is the source of evil ; the Egyptian house, in which, as in a living tomb, the soul is forced to dwell : ἐδεμένη σώματι φθαρτῷ, ἐντετυμβευμένη, νεκροφοροῦσα. (ii. 367. 387.) In vain does Divine wisdom take up its abode in the body : διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας οὐ καταμένει. Marriage, and the education of children, and the provision for daily life, and meanness, and avarice, and occupation are apt to wither wisdom, ere it can come into bloom. Yet does nothing so impede this growth of the soul as the fleshly nature. This is the foundation of ignorance and want of understanding on which the others are built. (i. 266.) In the language almost of the New Testament, he describes the life of the bad as τὰ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μεθοδεύειν. There is an original sin in the flesh, and in man as a created being, against which the Spirit of God is ever striving. There is a strife in the camp, says Moses ; that is, the Spirit within us cries out. Not that the bodily substance of the flesh is to be regarded as the source of evil, but the flesh comprehends in itself the ideal evil will, ever seeking to satisfy the lusts of the flesh.

Hence Philo is led to make a new division of the soul into two parts : the one in alliance with the flesh, the other separate from it. There are two kinds of men he says — those who live in the flesh, and those who live in the Spirit. And there is an outer soul, ψυχὴ σαρκική, the essence of which is blood, corresponding to the first of

these two classes; and an inner soul, *ψυχὴ λογική*, which answers to the latter, into which God puts his Spirit. That is the true soul; the soul of souls, as it were — the apple of the eye. (ii. 241. 356.) In like manner he seems disposed to confine immortality to the souls of the good.

The chief parallels with the Epistles which occur in the preceding section may be summed up as follows: —

The idea of Creation, *τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς τὸ εἶναι καλεῖν*.

His conception of the human soul as an *ἀπαύγασμα θεῖον, εἰκὼς θείας ἐκμαγεῖτον ἐμπερές*.

The body, as the tomb of the soul, which is said to be *ἐντετυμ-
ξενμένη, νεκροφοροῦσα*.

The strife of the soul and the body.

The flesh conceived of as the seat of sin.

The ideal soul inspired by God.

The innumerable company of angels and aerial beings.

The distinction of the *ψυχὴ σαρκική* and *λογική*, taken from the good and bad man, like St. Paul's *φρόνημα σαρκός* and *φρόνημα πνεύματος*.

§ 5.

The end of human life, according to Philo, is to follow God, and become like Him, and the mean to this is virtue. Philo, however, sometimes proposes the mean, without reference to God, as in itself the end. It is the seed which is also the fruit. It consists in bringing *αἰσθητά* under *νοητά*, and is the same with wisdom.

But how is man to attain to virtue? He is corrupt, and may justly be punished by God. Like St. Paul, Philo just touches on the sin of Adam, as the source of misery and death to his descendants. (ii. 440.) His answer to the question which has been asked is, in general, the same with that of the New Testament. God gives men grace to enable them to serve Him. The *λόγος* is the source of every good. Even virtue without the care or grace of God is of no

avail. (i. 203. 662.) “He says that he sets his tabernacle, the place of his oracle, in the midst of our impurity, that we may have wherewithal to cleanse ourselves and wash away all the filth and pollution of our miserable and ignoble life.” (i. 488., on Lev. xvi. 16.) The *λόγος* is the food (i. 120.) and also the temple of the wise soul. By its power, by whom all things were created, God will also raise the just man, and advance him to be near Himself in heaven. (i. 165.)

Philo entwines with his theological theory the ethics of Greek philosophy. There are three ways upwards, *διδαχή, φύσις, ἄσκησις*, of which he finds types in the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Of these the lowest is the way of *ἄσκησις*; he who practises this is described as in a perpetual state of strife and struggle, the image of which is Jacob on his pillow of stones, of which also the Homeric heroes are a figure, as described in the line *ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ’ ἐπερήμεροι ἄλλοτε δ’ αὔτε τεθνᾶσιν*. Next to him stands the *διδακτός*, of whom Abraham is the type; and yet, strange to say, the *διδαχή* consists in nothing but the ordinary elements of Greek education; viz. grammar, music, geometry, rhetoric, and dialectic. Before Sarah, who, according to Philo’s allegorical method, is virtue, can bear a son to Abraham, who is the representative of *νοῦς*, he must betake himself to Hagar, that is, the slavery of knowledge. The soul must have its food of milk and plain sustenance first, afterwards its strong meat; *νηπίοις ἐστὶ γάλα τροφή, τελείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ πύρων πέμματα*. (i. 302.) So near a parallel to St. Paul as this image affords, which occurs three or four times in Philo, is not supplied by the whole writings of Plato.

But the highest way is the way of nature, of which Isaac is the type. Here nothing but the word *φύσις* affords a vestige of the Greek philosopher. The way of nature is the way of God, attained only by withdrawing from the flesh. It might be described almost in the language which St. James applies to the “wisdom that is from above.” First, it is peaceable, and is accompanied by a joy which God communicates from his own attributes—the joy of resignation, which looks with pleasure on the whole world. Secondly,

it is pure, and reveals the sight of God to the pure in heart: *ιδεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατον, εἴη δ' ἂν μόνῳ τῷ καθαρσιότητι καὶ ὀξυωπεστάτῳ γένοι, ᾧ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ ἔργα, μεγίστην πασῶν χαρίζεται δωρεάν.* (Compare John, v. 20.) He who has it becomes a steward of the mysteries of God, *μυστήης τῶν θείων τελετῶν.* (ii. 427.) (Compare St. Paul, *οἰκόνομος τῶν θείων μυστηρίων.*) Lastly, it consists in the contemplation of God, *ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρου* (ii. 198.), an image which occurs again and again in Philo, and is repeated more than once in St. Paul — “For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.”

Many other striking parallels with the description of the Christian life are found in Philo. Such are the expressions — *διψᾶν καὶ πεινᾶν καλοκάγαθίας, διψᾶν εὐνομίας, δουλεύειν θεῷ, εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ, γνωρίζεσθαι θεῷ,* by which Philo denotes the relation of the perfect man to God. Another mode of expression with which he is familiar, is that of the “true riches,” — *οἷς ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐν οὐρανῷ κατάκειται διὰ σοφίας καὶ ὁσιότητος ἀσκηθεῖς, τούτοις καὶ ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ γῆς περιουσιάζει, . . οἷς δὲ ὁ κληρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐράνιος δι' ἀσεβείαν ἢ ἀδικίαν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῶν εὐοδεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ κτῆσις.* (ii. 425.) “Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, . . and all these things shall be added unto.” A more general parallel with our Saviour's sermon on the mount is furnished by the figure of the way of life, which there be “few who find”: *ἄτριπτος ὁ ἀρετῆς χῶρος· ὀλίγοι γὰρ βαίνουσιν αὐτὸν, τέτριπται δ' ὁ κακίας.* (i. 84.)

To the four cardinal virtues of Plato and the Stoics, which he delights to recognise in the four rivers of Paradise and elsewhere, Philo adds what we may term three Christian graces. These are: hope, which is the seed of life, of which Enos is the type (i. 218.); repentance, which is prefigured by Enoch, *ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός* (ii. 4., such is the strange turn which Philo gives to Gen. v. 24.); righteousness, which is typified by Noah, the last of the ancient evil race, and the preserver of the new. In addition to these, there occurs a second triad, of *πίστις, χαρά, and ὅρασις θεοῦ* (ii. 412.), which is yet higher than the preceding, and of which Abraham,

Isaac, and Jacob are the examples. (ii 2, 3. 5. 8.) Faith, according to Philo's conception, is trust in God. It is that which says to the soul in the name of God—"Do thou stand here with me." It is the adhesive force which binds us to God: *τίς οὖν ἡ κόλλα; εὐσέβεια δῆπου καὶ πίστις· ἁρμόζουσιν γὰρ καὶ ἐνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀφθάρτῳ φύσει διανοίαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ πιστεύσας ἐγγίζειν θεῷ λέγεται.* (i. 456.) In another passage he comments on the words—"Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness." What could make his faith so praiseworthy? Has not the evil also faith in God? To which we reply: If you look not at the surface, but at the substance of things, you will know that it is infinitely hard to trust God alone; to loose the bands of ambition, lucre, power, friendship, and other earthly goods; to set thyself wholly free from the creature, and trust to God, who is alone to be trusted—*μόνῳ πιστεῦσαι θεῷ τῷ πρὸς ἀληθείαν μόνῳ πίστῳ.* (i. 485, 486.)

The faith of Philo has not the depth or associations of that of St. Paul; it bears a nearer resemblance to faith in the sense of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That is, it is not faith, the negative of the law, faith that makes men free, but the faith of one "who endures as seeing Him who is invisible." Almost in the language of Heb. ix. he describes Abraham as seeking a better country which God would show him, and finding his reward in regarding the things that are not as though they were: *ἀρτηθεῖσα καὶ κρεμασθεῖσα ἡ διάνοια ἐλπιδὸς χρηστῆς, καὶ ἀνενδοιάστα νομίσασα ἤδη παρεῖναι τὰ μὴ παρόντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑποσχομένου βεβαιωτάτην πίστιν, ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἄθλον εὔρηται.* In another passage he speaks of faith as the only true and living good, the consolation of life, the substance of good hope: *πλήρωμα χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, ἀφορία μὲν κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ φορά, κακοδαιμονίας ἀπόγνωσις, εὐσεβείας γνῶσις, ψυχῆς ἐν ἁπασι βελτίωσις ἐπερηρεισμένης τῷ τῶν πάντων αἰτίῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ μὲν πάντα, βουλομένῳ δὲ τὰ ἄριστα.* "This is the strait and smooth way, in which, if a man walks, he stumbles not, in which he avoids the slippery path of bodily and external things. He who trusts these latter has no faith in God, he who has no faith in these has faith in God." (ii. 39.)

In other passages the more general term *εὐσέβεια* takes the place of *πίστις*. *Εὐσέβεια* and *φιλανθρωπία* are often mentioned together. Thus, almost in the words of the Gospel, he declares that there are two great commandments, — piety and holiness towards God, and love and justice towards men. Under these, innumerable lesser details are comprehended. *ἔστι δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀμνησίων λόγων καὶ δογμάτων δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια, τὸ τε πρὸς Θεὸν δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης.* (ii. 391.) But the highest form of virtue is love to God, which Philo describes as the last stage of mystic initiation. They who possess this gift are inspired, *ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀρπασθέντες οὐρανόθεν καθάπερ οἱ βακχευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιάζουσιν μέχρις ἂν τὸ ποθούμενον ἴδωσιν* (ii. 473.); they are free, and participate as friends in the power of the king, — they are gods themselves, as Moses has ventured to call them.

Philo, like the Apostle Paul, describes faith, hope, and love as the fairest graces of a religious soul. In Philo as well as in St. Paul, in different senses and under different points of view, faith and love seem either of them to occupy the first place, while hope lies more in the background, and is the germ of the other two. In both, faith is almost sight; love has nearly the same position in Philo as in the Gospel and Epistles of St. John. Hope, as with the early Christian it was closely connected with the sorrowfulness of his life in this world, so in Philo seems to arise out of the degenerate state of the Jewish race, from which the righteous could by hope only escape.

Philo regards the law in a different manner from the Scribes and Pharisees at Jerusalem. He speaks of certain who laid aside the letter, and considered only the spirit of the sacred writings, who, like St. Paul, would have said, — “Let no man judge you of a new moon or of a sabbath;” and of such he disapproves. Yet he too, in a spirit which partakes both of Greek philosophy and Hebrew prophecy, utters warnings against lip service and superstition; the whole of the sacrificial language of the Old Testament receives from

him a spiritual or ideal meaning. Thus he calls *πίστις κάλλιστον καὶ ἄμωμον ἱέριον*; in the same spirit he says that the holiest and most acceptable sacrifice is a soul purified by virtue and age; "from holy men the least gifts find acceptance with God, and even if they bring nothing else, in bringing themselves, who most perfectly fulfil the law of goodness, they bring the best sacrifice, — It is not of the sacrifice, but of the virtue, that God takes account." (ii. 151, 253, 254.) On such a theory it would be unnecessary that sacrifices should be offered at all. Nevertheless, by reason of the frailty of men, God, he says, was pleased to give them a temple made with hands, which is one only temple, even as God is one, and to this He compelled men to assemble as a test of their piety. This temple is the image of the world, as the passover is of a change of life, and the rite of circumcision of purity of heart (ii. 222, 223.); or as the Jewish people are the priests and prophets of the whole human race. (ii. 15.)

With this idealising tendency he seems to have united the more popular belief of ransom and sacrifice. Thus he speaks of the Levites as the ransom of the children of Israel, and says, on Lev. iii. 12., that what the sacred writer probably intends to teach, is, that every good man is the ransom of the bad. (De Sacrif. Cain et Abel, c. 37.) In like manner his interpretation of the offering up of Isaac implies that he believed in the efficacy of sacrifice in its most literal sense. (ii. 27—29.)

Points of parallelism in the preceding section are as follows:—

1. The view that righteousness is the gift of God to man, not of debt, but of grace.
2. Faith, hope, and love. Faith is the substance of things hoped for. What a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? The greatest of them is love.
3. The two great commandments in the law.
4. The metaphorical use of sacrifice and of circumcision.
5. Particular expressions: "stewards of the divine mysteries," "the true riches," "hungering and thirsting after righteousness."

§ 6.

We have completed a sketch of the principal points of Philo's system, if indeed that can be called a system, the connexion of which is chiefly made by the continuity of the Mosaic writings. On those writings were incrustated the fancies of the Alexandrian philosophy. They soon worked themselves into the fabric, which they covered with grotesque and monstrous fictions. More precisely considered, the writings of Philo are not a system in the sense in which the writings of Plato and Aristotle form a system, but a method of applying the Greek philosophy to the Jewish Scriptures.

This method, however, was not the fancy of an individual; it was the method of a school. The age which compares the present with the past, seeks to adapt ancient monuments to itself. In a place of learning, like Alexandria, swarming with teachers and rhetoricians, the natural tendency of the human mind was not likely to be without an expression. Plato himself had found the allegorical interpretation an instrument of implanting his lessons too convenient to be neglected. The instant that the bright thought occurred to some Euhemerus that all these things were an allegory, an idea which many of the fictions of Greek mythology readily suggested, it might be indefinitely expanded and applied. The "ill weed grew apace" in a congenial soil; it was suited to that stage of human culture. But for the disposition to receive it, such an interpretation of the law of Moses would have seemed as singular to the Alexandrian, as a similar allegorical explanation of Blackstone's Commentaries to ourselves. Like other methods of knowledge, it was relative to the age which gave birth to it. It is curious to trace the manner in which the same tendency is restricted among ourselves. If a person were to apply the allegorical method to the Prophets generally, he would be thought fanciful,—to the books of Kings or Chronicles absolutely insane; while in the treatment of the book of Revelation, it would seem to have a natural application. The simplicity of the Alexandrians admitted every use of it; nor did they see any absurdity in

the grammatical studies of Abraham, or the Greek instructors of Moses. (ii. 8.)

The effects of such a predisposing belief may be traced still in modern commentaries and paraphrases. The mystical interpretation of Scripture, though more common with the Fathers and schoolmen than among Protestant divines, has found supporters in our own days. It is regarded by many as "tending to edification." Is this conceivable, unless it had been based on some principle of human nature? Could a method of interpretation which, though destitute of objective truth, has survived 2000 years, have been due only to the genius of Origen or of Philo?

We might reply, "impossible," on such *à priori* grounds only. No system like that of Philo could have sprung, fully equipped, out of the brain of an individual; it would have been an unmeaning absurdity, unless many generations of teachers and hearers had preceded. No system which was the idiosyncrasy of a philosopher, could have retained so tenacious a hold on the human mind. Reason and feeling must have married in some natural conjunction, the links of which have never been entirely untwisted. There is no need, however, to rest the position that Philo was the representative of his age on mere *à priori* arguments. More direct proofs are the following:—

First, the "undesigned" coincidences between Philo and the New Testament can be explained on no other hypothesis than the wide diffusion of the Alexandrian modes of thought. Was it by chance only that Philo and St. John struck upon the same conception of the λόγος, or that the Alexandrian philosophy transferred to the λόγος the manifestations of God in the Old Testament which we commonly refer to Christ? Was it by chance that the same figures of speech are applied to the λόγος, which we receive in the New Testament from the lips of our Lord and His Apostles, such as the manna, the living water, the rock that flowed in the wilderness? It may be doubted whether they are used in the same sense by both, but there can be no doubt that they are a part of the language and mode of thinking of the age.

Secondly, it may be observed, that in several passages of his work Philo refers to the allegorical interpretation as already of ancient date. In some places he gives several explanations of the same verse, showing that he was not himself its first interpreter. In speaking of the Therapeutæ and Essenes (to whom he seems to stand in nearly the same relation as Basil or Chrysostom to St. Antony and the Christian hermits), he gives a description of their preaching, and speaks of the allegorical method as peculiar to them. He says that they are scattered in many parts of the world: "for it must needs be, that Greece and the stranger should have part in the perfect good." (ii. 474. 477.) He also uses the expression, *οἱ τῆς ἀλληγορίας κάνορες* (as though an art of allegorising existed just as much as an art of rhetoric), and everywhere presupposes the idea of his method as well known.

Thirdly, there are traces of the same application of the Old Testament much older than Philo. The "Word of God" in the Mosaic narrative of the Creation, and the "Spirit of God" which moved on the face of the deep, are the first germs out of which the Alexandrian λόγος afterwards developed itself. "Ideas must be given through something;" it was natural to men to describe the operations of God in the world in symbols and figures of speech derived from Scripture. These figures were spiritualised and personified; the "God who brought up Israel out of Egypt" became more and more abstract, and the language which had been applied to Him was transferred to the hypostatised λόγος, and also to the written word. But in the Old Testament the personification, whether of wisdom or of the word of God, is only poetical. In Philo and the Alexandrian writers, on the other hand, poetry has already been converted into philosophy. Words have become facts, and the great truth of the unity of God has passed into an invisible essence, which no man has seen or can see. All the gradations of this transition can no longer be traced; there are sufficient intimations, however, to prove its reality. Gfrörer's remark has been already quoted, that in several passages in which apparitions of the Divine Being occur in

the books of Moses, alterations have been made by the translator. The book of Jesus, the son of Sirach, probably a work of Palestine origin and of the second century before Christ, written upon the model of older writings of the same class, the fragments of Aristas and Aristobulus, also of the second century, portions of the Sibylline oracles, which are supposed to be the work of an Alexandrian Jew, and the book of Wisdom, which is also probably of Alexandrian origin, contain the same idealism, the same conception of Wisdom or of the Word of God, and the commencement of the same allegorical method. The writings just mentioned were all older than Philo: and if we turn to those who followed him,

Fourthly, the remains of the Alexandrian Fathers, not more than a century and a half after Philo, bear the impress of the same school. It would be absurd to suppose that the whole system sprang up afresh in the mind of Clement or of Origen. Whence could they have derived it? Or how happened it in their writings to be much more freely and commonly applied to the Old Testament than to the New? No other answer can be given to these questions but that they were the natural heirs of the traditional method of Alexandria.

Philo, then, was neither the first author of the system, nor did it end with him, though he represents probably its highest development. There preceded him writers who, by a series of steps, led up to the entrance of the mystical temple. The Christian Fathers who followed him had a higher aim, which freed them from many of his puerilities. The power of the Gospel imparted to them, even in a literary point of view, a great superiority over their Jewish or Gentile contemporaries. Still they were his natural successors. Alexandrianism gave the form to their thoughts; hence they also derived a mystical and rhetorical character. The spirit with them had taken the place of the letter, and the hieroglyphic written on the walls was read by the light of a new truth. But they remained wandering in the labyrinth, though the roof had been taken off, and the sun was shining in the heavens.

§ 7.

It is a great proof of the importance of Philo's works for the illustration of Christianity, that some early Christian writers show an inclination to claim him as a Christian. Eusebius, for example, believes Philo to have had intercourse with St. Peter at Rome, and has no doubt that in describing the Therapeutæ, he has in view the first heralds of the Gospel, and the original practices handed down from the Apostles. Photius preserves a statement that he was a Christian who relapsed. To us Philo is unmistakably a Jew. What is there in his writings that has produced this opposite impression on the Fathers and on ourselves?

1. They found in his writings what was unintelligible to them, unless identified with Christ and the Gospel; the conceptions of "the Word," "the Holy Spirit," "grace," "faith;" of "the Spiritual," or rather "the Ideal, Israel."

2. They found these ideas drawn from the Old Testament by the same method of interpretation they were themselves in the habit of employing.

3. They found the same, or nearly the same, language with that of Philo in Christian writers.

4. His writings appeared to them orthodox in their tone; that is to say, they inclined to the mystical and spiritual.

5. The influences that produced Philo were still unconsciously acting upon them.

6. That they should have seen Christianity in Philo, was far less strange than that Philo should have traced Greek philosophy in Judaism, and Judaism in Greek philosophy.

A Jewish philosopher* was asked when he would become a Christian: he replied, "When Christians cease to be Jews." In the spirit of this reply it might be said: ἡ Παῦλος φιλωνίζει ἡ Φίλων χριστιανός ἐστι, — either Philo is a Christian, or St. Paul learned Christianity from Philo. And it must be admitted that Philo cannot

* Mendelssohn.

but exercise a great influence on our conception of the Gospel. As we read his works, the truth flashes upon us that the language of the New Testament is not isolated from the language of the world in general: the spirit rather than the letter is new, the whole not the parts, the life more than the form. There is a great interval between Philo and the Gospel when looked at under a practical or moral aspect. But they approach far nearer when Christianity is drawn out as a system, and theological statements are substituted for the simple language of our Saviour and His Apostles.

In the preceding pages, the chief similarities in the writings of Philo and St. Paul have been brought together; the differences between them remain to be considered.

I. Philo was strictly a Jew. It was his reverence for the law which led him to evade the law, and then to regard this evasion as its original intention. The law, though perverted to such a degree that no trace of its meaning was suffered to remain, he conceived to be of everlasting obligation. It was not "destroyed," but "fulfilled," by Greek philosophy. Though living on the edge of a volcano which was to open and swallow up his race, he had no conception that the Jewish way of life could ever cease, or the daily sacrifice fail to be offered. At the moment the law was departing, it seemed to him to contain everlasting treasures of wisdom and knowledge. The zealot or Pharisee at Jerusalem could not have clung with greater tenacity than Philo to the hope and privileges of the Jewish race.

II. Philo's system has been already described as the interpretation of the law by Greek philosophy. Hence in many places he uses the language of morality rather than of religion, and often mixes up both in a sort of rhetorical medley. Ideas are brought together in a way that sounds tasteless and strange to modern ears. Logic, ethics, psychology are ascribed to Moses, who is made to mean what he ought to have meant in the second century before Christ. Aristotle, Plato, the Sceptic, the Pythagorean, the Stoic, are Philo's real masters, from whom he derives his forms of thought,

his tricks with numbers, his methodical arrangement, his staid and rhetorical diction, and many of his moral notions. Of this classical or heathen element there is no trace in the New Testament. If there be ground for thinking that St. Paul had attained considerable Greek culture, there is no trace in him of a classical or heathen spirit. There is no sentence of any philosopher recorded in his Epistles; no doctrine of which we are able to say that it derives its origin from Plato rather than from Aristotle, from the Stoic more than from the Epicurean. While the writings of Philo are a coat of many colours, a patchwork in which the individuality of the writer is well nigh lost, in St. Paul there is nothing composite or eclectic, nothing that is derived from others in such a manner as, in any degree, to interfere with the harmony and unity of his own character. In his hymns of praise, in his revelation of the human heart, in his conception of the universality of the Gospel, he breaks away from the conventionalities of his age, bursting the bonds of Greek rhetoric as well as of Greek or Rabbinical dialectic.

III. Less prominent than Greek philosophy, but still discernible in Philo, is the influence of that widely spread and undefined spirit which may be termed Orientalism. It is the spirit which puts knowledge in the place of truth, which confounds moral with physical purity, which seeks to attain the perfection of the soul in abstraction and separation from matter. It is the spirit which attempts to account for evil, by removing it to a distance from God; letting it drop by a series of descents from heaven to earth. It is the spirit which regards religion as an initiation into mystery. How little of all this we find in the New Testament! Of the abhorrence of matter, that deeply rooted tenet of the East, absolutely nothing. The purity of which St. Paul speaks, is not and cannot be mistaken for the putting away of the filth of the flesh. Though he often introduces the thought of angels and spirits, yet he nowhere regards them as links in the chain let down from the Author of all good to the evils and miseries of mankind. And if he sometimes speaks of mere earthly and human relations as mysteries, in a sense in which

we can scarcely realise them to be so, or uses associations and figures of speech which had a force and meaning to his own age which they have lost to ourselves, yet the spiritual reality is never far off;—under this mystical or allegorical language is the “life hidden with Christ and God.”

IV. There may often occur a similarity of language between two writers, although their first and leading thought is different. Two systems of philosophy may be described; the one as practical the other as speculative, the one ideal and the other real; they may have an analogy in the details, while their first principles are different; just as there may be an analogy between the animal and vegetable worlds, while the idea of the one is quite distinct from that of the other. Such a difference and similarity there is between Philo and the New Testament,—a difference not so much in the parts as in the whole, a similarity not in the whole but in the parts. Philonism may be truly characterised as mystical and ideal, while the New Testament is moral and spiritual; the one a system of knowledge, the other a rule of life. Yet the terms wisdom, knowledge, prudence, faith, charity, as well as many others, may be common to both, and be applied by both, in senses which have a relation to each other, yet are really different. The wisdom and knowledge of Philo mean chiefly allegorical explanations of the Scriptures; the wisdom and knowledge of the New Testament are inseparable from life and action, and denote the perfect moderation of Christian life and character. A similar difference is traceable in the use of the Old Testament Scripture. The allegory which to the one is but a thin fiction that overspreads the Greek philosophy, to the other is the instrument of preaching a moral or religious lesson. What is everything to the one, is but secondary and subordinate in the other. What is the greater part of Philo, is but rare and occasional in St. Paul.

V. Another aspect in which the religion of Philo differs from the Gospel, is that the one is the religion of the few, the other of the many. The refined mysticism which Philo taught as the essence of

religion, is impossible for the poor. That the slave, ignorant as the brutes, was equally with himself an object of solicitude to the God of Moses, would have been incredible to the great Jewish teacher of Alexandria. Neither had he any idea of a scheme of Providence reaching to all men everywhere. Once or twice he holds up the Gentile as a reproof to the Jew; nothing was less natural to his thoughts than that the Gentiles were the true Israel. His Gospel is not that of humanity, but of philosophers and of ascetics. Instead of converting the world, he would have men retreat from the world. There is no trace in him of that faith which made St. Paul go forth as a conqueror. In another way also the narrowness of Philo may be contrasted with the first Christian teaching. The object of the Gospel is real, present, substantial,—an object such as men may see with their eyes, to which they may put forth their hands; and the truths which are taught are “very near” to human nature,—truths which meet its wants and soothe its sorrows. But in Philo the object is shadowy, distant, indistinct; whether an idea or a fact we scarcely know,—one which is in no degree commensurate with the wants of mankind in general or even with those of a particular individual. As we approach, it vanishes away; in the presence of the temple services, and of the daily sacrifice, it could scarcely have sprung up; if we analyse and criticise, it will dissolve in our hands; taken without criticism, it cannot exert much influence over the mind and conduct.

VI. The Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul have a real continuity with the Old Testament; they echo the voice of prophecy; they breathe the spirit of suffering and resignation which we find also in Isaiah and Jeremiah; they teach the same moral lesson in a more universal language. The inner mind of the Old Testament is—the New. Not, as some suppose, that the ceremonial law had any other relation to Christianity, but one of contrast. “Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, then said I, Lo I come.” But as, in the history of Greek thought, laws and customs are prior to that higher idea of law which philosophy imparts, so, in the Hebrew Scrip-

tures, the law of Moses comes first; afterwards that under-growth of Christian morality which is given by prophecy. Now Philo has no connexion with the prophets, and no real connexion with the law. To the former he seldom refers, while to the latter he assigns, as we have seen, a purely arbitrary meaning. With the single exception of the great truth of the unity of God, it cannot be said that he derives his ideas from the Old Testament. He does not catch the real preparations and anticipations of a higher mode of thought in the books of Moses themselves. He is unable to see the light shining more and more unto the perfect day in the Psalmist and the Prophets. The world is fifteen hundred years older than in the days of the giving of the law; philosophy and political freedom have come into being; the culture of one race is working upon the culture of another. These external influences Philo and the Alexandrians receive and amalgamate with the Mosaic Scriptures. But of the development of the Jewish religion, in itself, they have no perception. Nor are they conscious of the incongruity of the elements which they bring together from different ages and countries.

§ 8.

These general differences may be illustrated further by a short comparison of the particular subjects which are common to Philo and the New Testament:— (a.) For example, the words *λόγος* and *πνεῦμα* occur in both, and in both have a relation to each other. Neither can it be said, that the *λόγος* in Philo is a merely physical notion; or denied, that most of the predicates attributed to Christ are applied also to the *λόγος*. The great difference is, that the idea in the one case proceeds from a real person, whom “our eyes have seen, and our hands have handled, the Word of Life;” in the other case, the idea of the *λόγος* just ends with a person, or rather leaves us in doubt at last whether it is not a quality only or mode of operation in the Divine Being. It begins with being unintelligible. It is not the “open,” but the “closed, secret” of Divine Providence. The *λόγος*, in the Alexandrian sense, occurs in the New Testament only at the com-

mencement of the Gospel of St. John; it has a single definite application to the person of Christ. It is like an expression borrowed from another system, the language of which was widely spread, and for once transferred to Him; no further doctrinal use is made of the term. In Philo the whole system centres, not in a person, nor in a fact, nor in a moral truth, but in the term λόγος. Everywhere, both in the book of nature and the book of the law, the λόγος only is seen. If in Scripture the same predicates are applied to Christ as in Philo to the λόγος, it is not that they were transferred from one to the other, but that the same words naturally suggested themselves in both cases to the Jewish mind to express an analogous idea. Christ is called μεσίτης or ἀρχιερεύς; not because these designations had previously been appropriated to the λόγος, but because the disciple now believed the same attributes to belong to Christ which the Alexandrian philosophy had attached to the λόγος. The λόγος of Philo is not an historical Christ; he is diffused over creation, and has hardly any connexion with Messianic hopes.

The difference between Philo's conception of the πνεῦμα and that of the New Testament may be summed up as follows: 1. In Philo it occurs less frequently, and has a less important place. 2. It is more of an abstraction, being scarcely distinguishable from a quality in the human mind, or an attribute of the Divine Being. 3. It is blended with a physical notion of the wind. It has hardly a separate existence at all, but is a sort of modification of the λόγος.

(β.) Analogous differences are traceable in the moral and spiritual character of the doctrines of Philo when compared with the Gospel. We have seen that it would not be true to say that Philo knew nothing of the Christian λόγος or πνεῦμα. Neither would it be true to say that he knew nothing of the doctrines of grace. Like St. Paul, he would have acknowledged that God was the Giver of all good; like St. Paul, he believed that the good suffered for the evil, "even as Christ, the just for the unjust." He could have said, "When ye have done all, count yourselves to be unprofitable servants." Such a doctrine would have been by no means new to him.

But it is rather theoretical than practical; it flows with him out of a consideration of the Divine nature; it is a part of his theosophy, not a rule of life. The language of a school pervades all his writings; the teacher never allows his reader to forget that he is the rhetorician also. Plain duties he involves in dreamy platitudes; no word comes from or goes to the heart of man. And as his view of religion and morality is wanting in depth and reality, so also it is wanting in breadth. It does not embrace all mankind, or all time. It could never have attained to the sublimity of St. Paul: — “In Jesus Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free;” though often assuming in the Israelite the ideal of humanity. (De Victim. c. 3.)

(γ.) Philo, in his conception of faith, falls equally short of St. Paul. Both in Philo and St. Paul faith is trust in God, and belief in His promises. But in St. Paul it is more than this, a faith such as may remove mountains, a confidence that “all things” are ours, “whether life or death, or things present or things to come.” It is the instrument of union with Christ, and, through Him, of communion with all mankind. The faith of Philo is bound up in the curtains of the tabernacle; it is the faith which believes that God will keep his covenant with the sons of Abraham, not that “God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham;” the faith of St. Paul is absolute and infinite; it breaks down the wall of partition which divides the Jew from the Gentile, and earth from heaven.

(δ.) Once more: it is fair to estimate the difference between Philo and the Gospel by the result. The one may have guided a few more solitaries or Essenes to the rocks of the Nile or the settlements of the Dead Sea; the other has changed the world. The one is a dead literature, lingering amid the progress of mankind; the other has been a principle of life to the intellect as well as the heart. While the one has ceased to exist, or only exists in its influence on Christianity itself, the other has survived, without decay, the changes in government and the revolutions in thought of 1800 years.

From the above statements, as we pass from the Epistles of St. Paul to other parts of the New Testament, a slight deduction has to be made. Philo may be allowed to stand in a nearer relation to the Gospel of St. John, and to the Epistle to the Hebrews, than to any of the writings of St. Paul. There is truth in saying that St. John wrote to supply a better Gnosis, and that in the Epistle to the Hebrews a higher use is made of the Alexandrian ideas, and the figures of the Mosaic dispensation. That is to say, the form of both is an expression of the same tendency which we trace in the Eastern or Alexandrian Gnosis. But admitting this similarity of form, the difference of spirit which separates St. John or the author of the Hebrews from Philo, is hardly less wide than that which divides him from St. Paul. The *λόγος* of Philo is an idea, of St. John a fact; of the one intellectual, of the other spiritual; the one taking up his abode in the soul of the mystic, while the other is the indwelling light of all mankind. Philo would have shrunk from "the idea of ideas," as he termed the *λόγος*, being one "whom our eyes have seen and our hands have handled;" he would have turned away from the death of Christ. And although the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews approaches more nearly to Philo in his conception of faith, and carries the allegorical method further than St. Paul, both in the particular instance of Melchisedek, and in his application of it to the whole of the Mosaic dispensation, and seems even to regard such knowledge as a sort of perfection (IIeb. vi. 1), he too never leaves the groundwork of fact and spiritual religion.

Alexandrianism was not the seed of the great tree which was to cover the earth, but the soil in which it grew up. It was not the body of which Christianity was the soul, but the vesture in which it folded itself—the old bottle into which the new wine was poured. When with "stammering lips and other tongues" the first preachers passed beyond the borders of the sacred land, Alexandrianism was the language which they spoke, not the faith which they taught. It was mystical and dialectical, not moral and spiritual; for the few,

not for the many ; for the Jewish therapeute, not for all mankind. It was a literature, not a life ; instead of a few short sayings, "mighty to the pulling down of strong holds," luxuriating in a profusion of rhetoric. It spoke of a Holy Ghost ; of a Word ; of a divine man ; of a first and second Adam ; of the faith of Abraham ; of bread which came down from heaven : but knew nothing of the God who had made of one blood all nations of the earth ; of the victory over sin and death ; of the cross of Christ. It was a picture, a shadow, a surface, a cloud above, catching the rising light ere He appeared. It was the reflection of a former world, not the birth of a new one. It lifted up the veil of the temple, to see in a glass only dreams of its own creation.

THE END.

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